FBIS DAILY REPORT

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DAILY HITS EUROCOMMUNIST POSITIONS ON MISSILES

AU161506 Tirana ATA in English 0925 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Text] Tirana, December 16 (ATA) -- Since the two imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, and their military blocs began their demagogic dialogue on the problem of the Euromissiles, the propaganda of the so-called Eurocommunists found another reason to make noise and perfect its demagogy. As a result of the frenzied nuclear armament race, which has been considerably intensified in recent times, the protest and the revolt of the peoples especially in Europe, against the danger of a new world war has been raised to a higher level. It is exactly this fact which the known Eurorevisionist parties try to use in order to deceive the peoples with their pacifist policy and to gain new political credits in the diplomatic chancelleries of their countries and especially of the superpowers, the American imperialism and the Soviet social-imperialism, stresses among others the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT in one of its articles.

Some of the stands in the policy of the Italian, Spanish, and French Eurocommunists towards the problem of Euromissiles coincide, some others are specific. This depends on the concrete position adopted by their respective governments and on the specific situation and problems facing each Eurorevisionist party itself.

Further on, ZERI I POPULLIT analyzes the stands of the Italian, Spanish, and French Eurocommunists with regard to the deployment of the "cruise", "Pershing-II", and "SS-20" missiles in Europe by the two superpowers and stresses that the Eurocommunists do not treat the problem of the Euromissiles as an acute political problem but simply as a technical one. The Eurocommunist parties propose the same ways and means to solve the problem of Euromissiles.

Who is acquainted with the Eurocommunist policy knows that its platform allows interpretations according to conjuctural interests. Thus "new theses" can be formulated at any time and on every problem, stresses ZERI I POPULLIT. The whole pacifist propaganda of the Eurocommunists is based, especially as to the problem of Euromissiles, on the imperialist thesis of "balance of power," whereas the Eurorevisionists consider (and where they can, try to manipulate) the struggle of the peoples and progressive forces for peace against the danger of imperialist war as a means of pressure in favour of their policy of pacifist deceit. The truth is that the Eurorevisionists do not believe in the forces and aspirations of the peoples and in their struggle for independence, peace, progress, democracy, and socialism. They have abandoned the class struggle and revolution. They do not believe that the danger of nuclear war can be eliminated only by overthrowing the power of capital, the source of wars itself, imperialism. That is why they have become lackeys of the bourgeoisie, that is why they cannot and do not serve in reality the cause of peace, writes in conclusion ZERI I POPULLIT.

LEADERS GREET LAO COUNTERPARTS ON NATIONAL DAY

AU011512 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 1 Dec 83

[Text] Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee; Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; and Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent the following telegram to Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the LPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Souphanouvong, president of the LPDR:

On the occasion of the national holiday of Laos, the anniversary of the founding of the LPDR, in the name of the Albanian people, the AWP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and the Council of Ministers, as well as personally, we convey to you and to the Laotian people our warm greetings and best wishes. Wishing the Lao people even greater successes in their efforts for the development of the economy and the country's prosperity, we express our conviction that the relations of friendship between our two peoples and countries will develop continually to their mutual benefit and to the benefit of the struggle against imperialism.

HOXHA VISITS FAMILY OF FORMER POLITBURO MEMBER

AU152038 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 15 Dec 83

[Text] This morning, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the beloved leader of the party and the people, accompanied by comrades Ramiz Alia, Adil Carcani, Simon Stefani, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Besnik Bekteshi, and Vangjel Cerrava, paid a visit to the family of Comrade Gogo Nushi on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of Comrade Gogo Nushi's birth. Comrade Enver Hoxha and his entourage were met affectionately by comrade Gogo Nushi's widow, sons, sisters, his brother, and other relatives. The party and state leaders had a cordial talk with the members of the Nushi family. They recalled events from the life and revolutionary activity of Comrade Gogo Nushi, militant and distinguished leader of the party. Comrade Enver stressed Gogo Nushi's great contribution during the National Liberation War as a leader of the Tirana District party organization, as well as in the functions with which the party entrusted him, as a militant communist who carried out loyally and consistently all the party decisions and directives.

Comrade Enver Hoxha and the other party and state leaders were seen off with respect and affection by the members of Gogo Nushi's family.

Attends Commemorative Meeting

AU152035 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 15 Dec 83

[Text] A commemorative meeting was organized this evening at the Opera and Ballet Theater in Tirana by the AWP Central Committee, the General Council of Albanian Trade Unions, and the Tirana District AWP Committee on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the birth of comrade Gogo Nushi, distinguished and militant member of the AWP. [former Politburo member, died some years ago]. The meeting was attended by working people from production centers, trade union activists, veterans, and other guests. A portrait of Gogo Nushi adorns the hall. Those present greeted with applause the entrance of Comrade Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Centeral Committee; Comrade Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, and Comrades Manush Myftiu, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Simon Stefani, Rita Marko, Foto Cami, and other comrades.

The meeting was opened by Comrade Lenka Cuko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary. Comrade Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, delivered a speech on the occasion.

BCP GREETINGS TO PCE MADRID CONGRESS REPORTED

AU161333 Sofia RABOTINICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Dec 83 p 5

[Report on BCP Central Committee greetings message to the 11th PCE Congress presented by Konstantin Atanasov, BCP Central Committee member and first deputy chief of the Department for Foreign Policy and International Relations at the BCP Central Committee, in Madrid on 14 December]

[Text] Konstantin Atanasov, leader of BCP delegation, presented the BCP Central greetings message to the 11th PCE[Spanish Communist Party] Congress. In it the BCP Central Committtee conveys most cordial greetings to the 11th PCE Congress delegates and to all Spanish Communists. We are well aware, the greetings message says, of the Spanish Communists' indefatigable work to defend the vital interests of the working people and strengthen the unity of action of all progressive forces in the struggle for deep democratic reforms in Spanish society, as well as for peace and socialism.

The greetings message emphasizes that the PCE congress is taking place under conditions of a sharply exacerbated international situation provoked by the arms race carried out by the most reactionary imperialist circles of the United States and NATO.

The deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe aroused a particular alarm because the balance of power was upset and the foundations of peace and security in Europe and in the world are being undermined. There is no doubt that this will bring about a greater exacerbation of the international situation and a new and more dangerous arms race. That is why, as Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general, has recently said: "There is no other problem today on which the destiny, prosperity, and existence not only of individual classes, peoples, and regions but of all mankind depend so much than that of safeguarding and strengthening peace." In the struggle for peace and security, now more than ever, are needed joint actions of the communists of all countries and cooperation with the socialists and social democrats and with everybody to whom detente and understanding among the peoples is dear, the greetings message emphasizes.

The greetings message further emphasizes Bulgaria's efforts to build a developed socialist society, good-neighborliness, understanding, and mutually beneficial cooperation among the peoples on the Balkans, in Europe, and in the world and also to convert the Balkan Peninsula into a nuclear-free zone.

Loyal to its international traditions, the BCP will continue in the future to contribute to further strengthening the unity of the international communist and workers movement and to expanding and deepening the cooperation with all revolutionary and progressive forces, the greetings message emphasizes. In conclusion, confidence is expressed that the friendly relations between the Bulgarian and Spanish Communists will strengthen and develop on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in the name of the common struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism, in the interest of the friendship and cooperation between the Bulgarian and the Spanish peoples.

DOYNOV RECEIVES USSR KOMSOMOL DELEGATION 16 DEC

AU162041 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Text] On 16 December Comrade Ognyan Doynov received a delegation of the Lenin Komsomol led by Iosif Ordzhonikidze, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee. In a friendly atmosphere the guests were briefed on some topical tasks undertaken by our party in the present stage.

TANCHEV DELEGATION RETURNS FROM ARGENTINA, UK

AU171941 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 17 Dec 83

[Excerpt] The official Bulgarian delegation led by Comrade Petur Tanchev has returned from Argentina. The delegation attended the celebrations on the occasion of the assumption of office by the new Argentine President Raul Alfonsin. On his way to Buenos Aires, Petur Tanchev, first deputy chairman of the State Council, met David Steel, leader of the British Liberal Party and other Liberal Party leaders. David Steel highly appraised the efforts of Bulgaria and of Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, personally to safeguard peace and to mold the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone.

FILIPOV RECEIVES GDR DEPUTY PREMIER SCHUERER

AU181422 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 18 Dec 83

[Text] On 18 December Comrade Grisha Filipov received Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission. Stanish Bonev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee, took part in the meeting. Egon Rommel, GDR Ambassador to Bulgaria, also participated.

Schuerer, Bonev Sign Protocol

AU181946 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 18 Dec 83

[Text] On 18 December Stanish Bonev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee, and Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and chairman of the GDR State Planning Committee, signed a protocol on their talks. They discussed the basic tasks related to coordinating the 5-Year plans of the two countries for the period 1986-1990. Greater efforts will be made in the advancement of their economies, and attention will be focused on saving energy and materials, improving the quality of goods, and perfecting production structure. The acceleration of scientific progress and its application will also play a major role in future.

Later, Gerhard Schuerer departed from Bulgaria.

COL GEN PALIN LEADS WORKING VISIT TO ETHIOPIA

For reportage from Ethiopian sources on the visit to Addis Ababa 13-17 December by Colonel General Velko Palin, head of the Military-Administrative Department of the Central Committee of the BCP, see the 19 December Middle East and Africa DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

COMMENTATOR VIEWS 'HYPOCRISY' OF U.S. ACTIONS

LD181457 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0830 GMT 18 Dec 83

[Foreign political commentary by Jiri Cebrovsky]

[Text] The allegory of wolves in sheep's clothing somehow came to mind this week while considering the statements of Western representatives, including those of America. Judge for yourself. In light of the fact that the socialist countries did not receive a constructive reply to their suggestions, they recommended to the participants of the Vienna talks on the number of troops and arms in Central Europe, that they should agree on a date of resumption of the talks later, through diplomatic channels. The Western officials immediately shed tears and deeply regretted this lost opportunity. For, we are told, they were always interested in sincere and serious talks. Not one of them, however, made a single mention of the fact that for a whole 10 years they tossed seriousness, let alone sincerity, into the waste paper basket, and that they blocked one project of the socialist countries after another.

We have here yet another example. American officials are throwing us the sweet bait of willingness to return to the Geneva talks on medium-range systems. The former head of the American delegation to Geneva, Paul Nitze, declared during his European tour and at home across the ocean, that we are willing to return to the talks at any time. He then added a measure of time to the respective willingness. The American delegation will be back in Geneva within 24 hours. There is only one question, however. What would Nitze and company like to talk about? Have they received new instructions, taken up new attitudes or even realistic standpoints? To this there is only one answer. No. That willingness to talk, is deliberate demagoguery. The United States wants to talk, but at the same time it deploys Pershing and cruise missiles in Western Europe. Surely the whole point of the talks on the banks of Lake Geneva was that medium range systems should not accumulate in Europe but rather the reverse, that their number should be limited on the basis of equality and equal security.

The West German magazine DER SPIEGEL, has published certain documents from the secret files of the Pentagon. They are very important and conclusive. From them it can be concluded that American experts did not consider the Soviet missiles, referred to as SS-20, as in any way threatening NATO. They admitted that on the basis of existing agreements the Soviet Union has the right to substitute new systems for the SS-4 and SS-5 systems which are 20 years old. They also admitted that this would not disturb the balance in Europe in any way. Another document reveals the fact that the Pentagon and the leadership of NATO were counting on the American medium-range systems being deployed in Western Europe, that they did not even consider the alternative of a possible agreement with the Soviet Union. It follows that when President Reagan gave his consent to the American delegation to begin talks in Geneva with the Soviet delegation, he set the delegation a single goal. The talks must not endanger the deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles in Western Europe. Wolves in sheep's clothing? But as the teeth betray the wolf, so the ruling American officials are betrayed by their deeds, both old and new.

Roughly 12 weeks ago, in the UN General Assembly, the American President, Ronald Reagan, asserted the need to prevent nuclear war, and vowed that he will do everything in his power to limit nuclear arms. On Friday night this international forum voted on resolutions, declarations, and documents submitted by the socialist countires, precisely concerning nuclear arms and nuclear conflict. The American delegate to the United Nations voted no 14 times, and abstained on only 2 occasions. We may note that this is, in fact, in conflict with Reagan's pledge. For he said no to the declaration that condemned nuclear war as the most terrible crime against humanity, and he dismissed another calling for a treaty to forbid the use of force in space and from space against the earth.

It was the American delegate who even said no to the resolution on ending nuclear arms tests. Compare the words and deeds, the fleece and the wolves' teeth.

When the U.S. President sent Marines to Lebanon he vowed that the United States Marines would be there 30 days, and only to safeguard peace in this small Near East country. American soldiers have been there for over a year now and the Lebanese, Syrians, and Palestinians are experiencing American peace through shellings from the battleship "New Jersey", air attacks from American bombers, and shellings by the American vessel, "Israel." Just like other citizens of NATO states, American soldiers have taken on the role of international police in Lebanon. Their mission here reminds us of forces of occupation, not in the least of units whose task it is to uphold order and calm. Ronald Reagan found an excuse for the American forces to remain in Lebanon in the alleged presence of about 1,000 unspecified terrorists, who are allegedly endangering interests in the Near East -- those of the United States of course.

As the Italian daily LA REPUBLICA wrote this week, even Americans cannot understand Washington's Near East policy. This is not an isolated opinion. On the surface, the United States takes great care to ensure that the degrading Lebanese-Israeli agreement is upheld, but Washington does not get exicted over the Israelis' violating the agrement, guaranteed by the United States, concerning the exodus of Palestinians from the country. In Damascus, Ronald Reagan sent his envoy, Rumsfeld to assure Syria that the United States does not wish to provoke a conflict with this country, but air attacks on Syrian positions, the shelling of Syrian troops with the large-caliber shells, the conscious effort to succeed in provocation, are daily tasks as far as the Americans are concerned. Again there is a discrepancy between words and deeds.

It is not difficult, however, to understand the meaning of the appearance of wolves in sheep's clothing. The hypocritical tears over the alleged collapse of the Vienna talks; the hypocritical sadness over the fact that there are no talks in Geneva; Reagan's remarks that it is impossible to permit nuclear war; and statements that he is protecting peace in Lebanon, El Salvador, or Grenada, all have several aims. Firstly they are designed to free the United States from responsibility for sabotaging the talks on disarmament, to improve their position in the world, and to justify Washington's adventurism. Secondly, they are designed to stop the growing wave of anti-American feeling and to weaken the continually growing antiwar movement in Europe and on other continents of our planet.

Despite all the efforts of Ronald Reagan's administration and of the leading representatives of NATO to prevent it, an increasing number of people see the main culprit responsible for the worsening world situation precisely in Washington and the forces it serves. An ever-increasing number of people are becoming aware of the danger of the limit toward which they are being pushed by the harzardous actions of Reagan's government, which are increasing the threat of nuclear war. This is why the peace manifestations and demonstrations against the threat of war could not be silent again this week. This is why the vast majority of countries represented in the United Nations approved a document which condemns nuclear war as an act against conscience in reason, as a denial of the most basic of human rights, the right to life. Among these countries were India and Czechoslovakia whose highest representatives had talks in Prague this week.

As Gustav Husak, the president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and Giani Zail Singh, the Indian president agreed, it is necessary to put measures into effect that will lead to the removal of the causes of growing tension, and so remove the threat of a world conflict.

A clear and logical conclusion of the talks between Gustav Husak and Giani Zail Singh is that we must all join forces in an effort to preserve world peace, regardless of geographical distance, of social systems, regardless of language, culture or religion, for what is at stake is peace for all the people of our planet.

POPE'S IDEAS ON 'UNITED CHRISTIAN EUROPE' SCORED

AU161800 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 15 December carries on page 5 an 1,800-word article by Doctors of Philosophy and Candidates of Science Viera Hudeckova and Vasil Tomecek from the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party entitled "The Pope and His Opponents."

The authors note that the "Vatican has traditionally claimed the right to interfere in the resolution of mankind's most important issues" and that the present pope has stepped up this trend and increased the church's political involvement.

"The anticommunist orientation of political clericalism," the authors declare, "and the present pope's activity, which is ingeniously wrapped up in traditional Christian dogma and in phrases sounding like humanism, influence the believers by their seemingly otherworldly orientation, by a kind of elevation above the classes. Thus it is no wonder that an impression has been created about the pope's uniqueness, about his peace-creating mission, about the special role he is to play which follows from his Slav origins, and generally about his alleged innovativeness." After quoting the pope's Gnezno speech of 1979, the authors point out that the idea of a "unified Christian Europe" mentioned in that speech as well as the idea of a "positive solution to the great issue of European unity" constitute a "concept that regards some supernatural, moral-ethical factors concentrated particularly in Christianity and, according to the Vatican, in its most important manifestation, -- the Catholic Church -- as the cohesive and dynamizing force that shapes our continent, instead of regarding the realistic and progressive social forces as such a force. It is here that the pope's conservatism is strikingly manifested, because it is no coincidence," the authors state, "that the idea of a 'united Europe' has always cropped up in history whenever it seemed necessary to unite the conservative forces on the continent against the offensive of progressive social forces and to give them a common program. This orientation exists today, as it existed several decades ago after the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia when all of reaction strove to save Europe from 'godless communism."

However, the authors note that expressions of disappointment in the pope's policy are becoming increasingly evident in the West, as are attempts to view him and the consequences of his political orientation in a more sober way. To prove this, the authors quote the publication "The Traveling Pope," which was recently published in Vienna prior to the pope's visit to Austria. This brochure, the authors state, "considers problematic and controversial" the "Pope's intrachurch conservativism, his understanding of the papal office and of women's role in society, the Catholic Church's attitude toward other Christian churches," as well as the pope's "one-sided condemnation of the so-called dual violence, his views on the revolutionary movement in the Third World, his condemnation of the popular church in Latin America, his radical opposition to Marxism, and last, but not least, the problem of his ideas on 'Europe united on the basis of Christianity.'"

It is because of the uncritical enthusiasm about the pope, which is "not founded on any rational grounds," the authors continue, that "the danger has ensued that all the results and consequences of his policy can be imprudently accepted."

After quoting the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE on the pope's pilgrimage to Fatima, Porugal, which the authors call "a center of rightwing Catholicism and clerical anti-communism," and the brochure's comparison of the pope's speech there with President Reagan's statements on the current processes in the world, the article then deals with the pope's trip to Spain last autumn and with the travels in Central America. Here the authors stress the "storm of indignation" produced by the pope's shaking hands with the ruling local generals and his warning to the local clergy not to engage in political activities.

"The facts published in the brochure," the authors continue, "strikingly confirm the true substance of the Vatican's policy. On the one hand, it demands that clergymen refrain from engaging in political activities in cases when they participate in the revolutionary processes in their own countries or support the development of their socialist states and their peace policy. On the other hand, the clergy finds understanding in the Vatican for political involvement if it activates the church of the spirit of a bald anticommunist orientation and is intended to achieve the destruction of socialism under the slogans of religious freedom."

The authors conclude the brochure is "proof of a certain polarization of opinions inside the church itself, proof of the existence of realistically-thinking forces which, even if they remain fettered by religious ideas, nevertheless reject the conservative, unrelaistic, and anticommunist stances of high church circles."

WALESA CIRCULATES 'COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY' TEXT

LD162022 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Text] The text of a statement by Lech Walesa, leader of the now dissolved Solidarity organization, has been circulated illegally among Western journalists in Poland. The statement has seven pages and it expresses Walesa's old-new political credo. Walesa writes about ruination, disaster, and crisis and presents them as the political realities of present-day Poland. And as a cure, he recommends the self-same devices which brought Poland to the brink of catastrophe during the period of his influence.

The fact that the statement says nothing at all about the fraternal assistance of socialist countries to Poland, about the process of normalization in Polish society, about the honest efforts of the party and state leadership to stabilize the situation is quite apparent. The fact is that these realities are not accord with Walesa's slanders or his calls for subversive actions. The statement, issued to the press, bears all the signs of similar works manufactured in Western espionage centers and which are presented enthusiastically but not unselfishly by Walesa and his companions as their own creations. And in spite of the fact that the author of the statement puts on airs as a benefactor and savior, in spite of the fact that the statement is wrapped in the cloak of concern about the workers, the fact is that Walesa has tried once again to disseminate a pamphlet which fully warrants the adjective counterrevolutionary.

DAILY ARGUES FOR MORE TRADE WITH CAPITALISTS

AU161404 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 15 December carries on page 6 a 1,400-world article by Engineer Ladislav Trakovicky from the CPCZ Central Committee's Higher Political Academy in Bratislava, entitled "International Division of Labor -- an Objectively Valid Law; CEMA and Economic Relations With Developed Capitalist States."

The author begins by stating that "the development of mutual relations between socialist and capitalist states is directly connected with detente and with the limitation of feverish armament," so that the "expansion of mutual economic and cultural relations is an important condition of consolidating the people's peaceful coexistence and of activating international economic relations." Toward the end of the seventies and at the beginning of the eighties, the author continues, international economic relations substantially deteriorated as a result of the general crisis of capitalism, and the decline in trade "affected all socialist states, with the exception of the USSR."

The author then notes that "the trade structure between the socialist and capitalist countries does not correspond to their economic and scientific-technical potential"; the socialist states, the author says, have "always been striving to increase the share of their exports to the capitalist countires, but most capitalist countries" continue, and are even increasing, their discrimination in exports to the socialist states. "It can be said that the United States is constantly exerting pressure on its NATO allies, by every legal and illegal means, to make them expand and tighten their control on exports to the socialist countries through the Coordination Committee for the Control of Exports to Socialist Countires (COCOM)," the article notes, and continues: "The socialist states regard mutual trade with the capitalist states as a further development of mutual relations on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. At the same time the mutual relations of socialist and capitalist states yield advantages to both sides, and not only to the socialist countries, as the bourgeois economists claim."

After noting that Finland was the only country to conclude a contract with the USSR in the shipbuilding industry, although this industry is stagnating, the article says that the "further development of mutual trade between socialist and capitalist countries will depend on the capitalist countries' lifting their protectionist and discriminatory measures, on the socialist countries' improving the quality of their products, and on the quick adjustment of suppliers" from these countries.

The article then says that the "worsened, and literally discriminatory, foreign-currency, financial, and loan relations are adversely affecting mutual trade with the capitalist states." It cites examples to show that "embargoes on mutual trade with the socialist states in the capitalist states have proved to be ineffective," and also detrimental to capitalist firms and working people. This, the article states, was due to the "failure of the capitalist states to create a united economic front against the socialist countries," because of the laws of capitalist competition and of mutual rivalry.

The article then cites other forms of relations between the states of the two systems, such as industrial cooperation, both with the capitalist and the developing states; and the transfer of technologies, which Western propaganda is said to "strive to abuse as much as possible against the socialist states." The article rejects the theory that the socialist states have nothing to offer the capitalist states in terms of licences, and concludes by saying that: "In the mutual economic relations with the capitalist states, the socialist states are pursuing a policy of equality in the current system of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The international division of labor is an objectively valid law which must also be respected by the capitalist states, despite their endeavors at political extortion. Even in the development of international economic relations, socialism has unambiguously proved to be more viable. The mechanism of the transformation of current international economic relations as applied by the socialist states is the only correct mechanism within the framework of the world economy."

UNDERGROUND UNION DISARMAMENT PETITION MADE KNOWN

NC181510 Paris AFP in English 1159 GMT 18 Dec 83

[Text] Prague, Dec 18 (AFP) -- Underground free trade unionists here have mounted a disarmament petition calling for referendums in every country, East and West, where Euromissiles are due to be deployed. The petition, which opposes both U.S. and Soviet missiles, has been sent to the country's leaders. It calls for secret ballots under international scrutiny.

In a letter sent to the official unions (ROH), a copy of which is in the possession of AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, the preparatory committee for free trade unions said, "such an important question (the deployment of Euromissiles) should not be decided by a group of politicians". The committee, which claims to be active in the major industrial centres of Pilsen, Ostrava, and Kladno, was first heard of in 1981, but its members have never been identified.

The style of the petition appears consistent with that of workers having advanced union training, more than likely ROH members who officially support government policy. But that policy of hostility to Western missiles and support for Soviet missiles here and in East Germany is "far from the real position of a large section of workers the letter said.

The committee said people who took part in official demonstrations against Western missiles were really against Soviet missiles as well. "No one can convince them that only U.S. arms are bad and bring death, and that Soviet missiles are good since they protect us. The truth is that any territory where missiles will be deployed will become the target of a counter-attack from the other side the letter said.

The committee criticized the massive cost of the latest nuclear weapons, in terms of money, pollution, and loss of land. "It is absurd to ask people to agree to this risk and force them to sign documents in favor of the missiles which could bring their own destruction. Even if to force them, pressures and threats are made against their living standards."

The committee urged official unions "to launch a firm protest against the installation of missiles on Czechoslovak territory, and thus defend workers' most fundamental interest -- the protection of their lives." The committee proposed, "despite the risks", the setting up of clandestine "informal cells" among the workers to unite "critical opinion (...) on questions basic to our life, and first of all war and peace."

COMMANDER OF ROCKET TROOPS NOTES 'SUCCESSES'

AU152114 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Dec 83 p 2

[CTK report: "They Improved the Quality of Combat Training"]

[Text] Yesterday, at the Ground Forces Military College in Vyskov, Lieutenant General Miroslav Pelousek, commander of the Rocket and Artillery Troops of the CSSR Ministry of National Defense, briefed journalists on the results and successes of members of rocket and artillery troops. He said, among other things, that in the 1982-83 training year there was an improvement in the quality of the combat training of formations and units. Members of rocket and artillery troops achieved outstanding results at tactical exercises, within the framework of which they were firing combat missiles [bojove rakety].

Members of rocket troops succeeded in cutting short the time of preparation for the fulfillment of combat tasks and in improving the missiles' striking accuracy. Soldiers of antitank troops, too, became conversant with new modern technology in a short period of time.

JAKES ADDRESSES CENTRAL BOHEMIAN PARTY COMMITTEE

LD152315 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 15 Dec 83

[Text] In Prague today the Central Bohemian Regional Party Committee discussed the fulfillment of economic tasks in the region this year and the preparation of next year's plan.

Milos Jakes, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, said in the discussion that in the present worsened situation in the world the tasks in our national economy are also becoming more demanding and that it is necessary to approach them with much greater responsibility. He said that raw material, fuel, power, and human labor are really only well utilized by producing goods of best quality. He said that when evaluating the quality of products the criterion should be: achievement of the best applied parameters and the ability to compete on foreign markets.

Comrade Milos Jakes also said that scientific-technical advancement, in which the initiative of working people is playing an important role, should become the most important part of the plan of each enterprise.

CZECH TU OFFICIALS RESIGN AFTER CADRE CHECK

AU161654 Prague PRACE in Czech 15 Dec 83 p 1

[Josef Kubik report]

[Excerpts] The 2-day plenary session of the Czech Trade Union Council [COR], which opened yesterday in Prague, is to discuss the role of trade union members in the Czech Socialist Republic in the fulfillment of this year's economic plan and their role in ensuring the fulfillment of next year's tasks.

COR Secretary Milan Mraz, who opened and chaired the session, submitted -- after the Proposals and Election Commission was elected -- a proposal on cadre changes. He stated that, in accordance with the COR Presidium's decision, talks and interviews with COR functionaries had been carried out in all regional trade union councils in the presence of members of the COR Secretariat and leading functionaries, and the activities of those interviewed had been assessed. On this basis Ivan Bednar, Miluse Vybiralova, and Helena Polakova on their own initiative asked to be relieved of their duties as COR members, and Ludmila Drbohlavova asked to be relieved of her duties as a candidate member of the COR. The plenary session expressed by vote its agreement on relieving the above people of their duties.

Furthermore, Pavel Pav was relieved of his duties as a member of the COR and its Secretariat; he was formerly chairman of the Regional Trade Union Council in the Central Bohemian Regional National Committee. The plenary session thanked him for his honest work to date and wished him many successes in his new work.

Alena Balcarova, Frantisek Hamacek, and Ales Komender were then elected from among the COR candidate members to become members of the COR.

STOPH RECEIVES USSR'S KOSTANDOV; TALKS BEGIN

AU122118 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10/11 Dec 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- On Friday Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received Leonid Kostandov, head of the Soviet government delegation to the 33rd meeting of the GDR-USSR Joint Government Commission and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other members of the delegation.

In a comprehensive exchange of views, possibilities and ways of further developing the economic relations between the GDR and the USSR in accordance with the requirements of the intensification of social production were discussed. The partners in the talk on this occasion asserted that the agreements on the purposeful and dynamic development of the economic and scientific-technological relations through 1990 and beyond that date concluded during the official friendship visit of the GDR party and state delegation to Erich Honecker, and the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Yuriy Andropov, open up new prospects. It is of great advantage for the two countries that the Joint Government Commission has already achieved concrete results with the conclusion of altogether 12 agreements at the current meeting.

At the meeting, which took place in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and in full agreement of views, the great importance was stressed of coordinating the plans for the coming 5-year plan period between the GDR and the USSR for securing long-term stable and mutually beneficial relations between the national economies of the two countries. In plan coordination the main thing is that through the utilization of the possibilities of socialist economic integration the potentials and resources of both countries should be made even more effective for strengthening the performance power, and that efficiency should be further increased.

In the talks Leonid Kostandov stressed that the consultations held during the commission's meeting in combines and enterprises impressively underlined the high value of agreements and treaties concluded between the USSR and the GDR, in particular for accelerating scientific-technological progress in such fields as microelectronics, machine tool construction, agricultural machinery, as well as consumer goods industry.

The work collectives are undertaking great efforts to fulfill the commitments from the agreements particularly carefully, in keeping with deadlines, and with the highest quality.

Willi Stoph expressed the conviction that the Joint Government Commission will purposefully continue the work for the benefit of the peoples of the GDR and the USSR to consistently implement the process of intensification and rationalization by closely linking the economic potentials.

The meeting was attended by Gerhard Schuerer, as head of the government delegation of the GDR, and other members of the GDR delegation. Also present was Vyacheslav Kochemasov, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR to the GDR.

PRC-GDR TECHNICAL-SCIENTIFIC COMMISSION MEETS

AU160758 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Dec 83 pp 1, 2

[ADN Report]

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- The 11th session of the Standing Commission for Technical and Technical-Scientific Cooperation between the GDR and the PRC concluded its deliberations in Berlin on Monday [12 December] with the signing of a protocol.

The delegations were led by Klaus Hermann, GDR deputy minister of science and technology, and by Wai Yuming, PRC deputy minister of foreign trade and economic relations.

As a basis for the further development of economic relations the commission agreed on measures to develop scientific-technical cooperation, including the exchange of delegations of specialists in national economically important fields such as electronics, engineering and plant construction, the chemical industry, and agriculture.

During its visit to the GDR the PRC delegation was able to become acquainted in combines and enterprises of automated plant building, rail vehicle and power plant building, coal processing, the chemical industry, and at the Carl Zeiss Jena VEB works, with technological procedures and equipment and high performance industrial products which are important for the current commodity exchange and for the reconstruction and modernization of industrial plants.

An exchange of information about problems related to the guidance and planning of science and technology in the two counties took place at the GDR Ministry of Science and Technology. In this context the delegation was received on Monday by State Secretary Dr Klaus Stubenrauch in Berlin.

HONECKER GREETS ARGENTINE PRESIDENT ALFONSIN

AU160742 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Dec 83 p 2

[ND Report]

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- The congratulatory message of Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, to the President of the Republic of Argentina, Dr Raul Ricardo Alfonsin, reads as follows:

It is a pleasure for me to convey sincere congratulations and heartfelt greetings to you on behalf of the State Council, the government, and the GDR people on your assumption of the presidency of the Republic of Argentina. At the same time, I would like to express the certainty that relations between the GDR and the Republic of Argentina will further develop and deepen continuously for the benefit of the two states and peoples. Since the establishment of these relations in 1973, cooperation has reached a high level in the reciprocal interest and for the mutual benefit. I am convinced that multifaceted opportunities for further intensification exist. A growing significance is attached especially now to a continuation of cooperation and dialugue between states in view of the present international situation. In this context I proceed from the fact that the identical or close positions of our two states with respect to important basic problems of our time constitute a good basis for joint efforts to preserve and consolidate world peace and international cooperation.

Your excellency, I wish you good health and success in your high office.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONGRATULATES JUDICIARY ORGANS

AU111629 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Dec 83 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- The SED Central Committee has addressed the following congratulatory message, signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker, to the staff workers of the GDR judiciary organs:

The staff workers of the GDR judiciary organs are making a significant contribution to further enhancing legal security in our country. At all times they are aware of their great responsibility for the protection of worker-peasant power against the attacks of the class enemy, and they are acting accordingly. It is with personal commitment and success that they are working for the constant consolidation of the trustful relationship between the state and the citizens. At the same time, they are striving to help fashion socialist relations between people and to safeguard an atmosphere of safety for the GDR citizens.

The SED Central Committee thanks all the members of the judiciary organs for this meritorious activity.

The intensified struggle for the preservation of peace, against the policy of confrontation and arms buildup of the most aggressive imperialist quarters, enhances the responsibility of every jurist and staff worker of the judiciary organs. Their knowledgeable and ambitious activities are helping to ensure the safe and happy life of all working people in peace and socialism.

It is a matter of honor for every jurist to consistently implement socialist legality in all spheres of social life and thus to contribute to the further strengthening of the socialist state and legal system. It is important to even more closely link law and legality with solving economic tasks, to prevent violations of the law, and to ensure a high degree of order and security.

The SED Central Committee wishes you the best health and much success in solving these demanding tasks in the coming year.

ECONOMIC ADVISER ANTAL DISCUSSES REFORMS

LD151054 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2015 GMT 9 Dec 83

[Interview with Rezso Nyers, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and scientific adviser of the Institute of Economic Sciences, by economist Laszlo Antal; time and place not given -- recorded]

[Text] [Antal] Today we once again live in a period when the waves of reform are fashionable. The concepts of reform are, in general, formulated in such a way that they are based on two pillars. One of these is the outlining of the economic difficulties of a particular short-term period. In other words, this represents the forces of compulsion. The other pillar of reforms deals with why it is, and in what way, that the economic mechanism functioning in a particular period is not rational, indeed, why decisions are not rational. Somehow reform proposals cannot join together these two elements. What is lacking between the two, what could make them more viable, is society, the political mechanism, the general mood of people and many other matters. I believe this is one of the reasons why the reform proposals were not all that popular, and little general interest was shown toward them. They appeared to be the internal affair of a narrow circle.

Comrade Rezso Nyers, your studies deal also with these missing props, that is, the relationship between society and reform and the interconnections between the political and economic mechanisms, in other words, with all the issues which, it appears, the reform proposals tend somewhat deliberately to avoid. This is the reason why I would like to ask you about the social and political backdrop to the reform concepts and about the historical experiences which should be taken into account on the threshold of every new reform period, although it seems that we have not so far really done so.

My first question of this kind would be as follows: The term "reform" is often used in the socialist countries. Many reform endeavors have ended infailure, there have been semi-successes, and there have also been reform proposals which, holding out the promise of success, got underway but which later settled back into the old ways. Success has been very rare. What is the reason for this?

[Nyers] It is primarily economic reforms that present themselves in the form of endeavors in the socialist countries and these arise, of necessity, for two reasons. You have, indeed, referred to this in your question and I approve of the reference you made. One of the reasons is the need for finding a way out of the practical difficulties, that is to say, the overcoming of difficulties. I would say that this means the short-term rationalization of economic activity. There is another, long-term cause, that is, that socialism -- the socialist economic system -- seeks its own appropriate economic methods and system of institutions. The frequency of reform endeavors is a consequence of these two reasons. However, we must frankly admit that, from time to time, there is silence about reforms in the socialist countries. So, these reform endeavors are not always steadfast enough.

As for the relationship between success and failure, I consider it natural that if we are searching for something good we can also encounter sudden, unexpected fiascos, so I would not describe failure as being wholly negative. How we respond to and interpret failure, well, that assesses and indicates the quality of our activities. We must learn from these, too.

Some failures are indeed typical. This is how I view the reform that developed in Hungary during 1953-56. This had not been sufficiently clarified either in theory or practice but it still sought to achieve something better. Well, it ended in fiasco.

[Antal] Could I ask you something? Well, 1957 is interesting because it can be assessed in several different ways and, although this is not clearly elaborated in theoretical work, it is indeed assessed in a number of ways. It is assessed either that in 1957 an organic process got underway or that a further wave of reform got started in 1957, with its own economic and political background, and then the period after 1957 was diverted from the reform process for a long time. Roughly speaking, these two appraisals exist side by side. If I simplify these concepts, the second assessment considers that reform a failure whereas the first attempts to place it, in a somewhat contrived way, into the logic of an organic development.

[Nyers] In my view a fundamental change took place in the general political line of our party in 1957. I would say that the intention for a reform policy has always characterized Hungarian politics ever since 1957. This was realized in a few specific measures in 1957. In economic terms the most important measure was the abolition of the system of compulsory deliveries and the launching of a new agrarian policy. However, for a good many years after 1957 Hungarian politics carried within itself internally and imminently, the possibility of two directions, and it was not decided in 1957 which of these it was going to choose later. This also applied in full to economic events because after 1957 there was a possiblity and even a trend in Hungarian economic policy for advancing further along the road of the command economy to the extent that this might produce practical results. However, following the collectivization of agriculture, no such result could be achieved within the framework of the old mechanism.

[Antal] It became evident around 1964 that there was a need for another turning-point in Hungary. This was despite the fact that -- with the benefit of hindsight today, based on a book by Iztvan Friss, it is quite clear for us -- it had become obvious by around 1960 that even the far looser and more liberal command-plan system would still lead back to the road of forced industrialization. Reform plans once again became timely around 1964-65. It is no accident -- or, rather, it cannot be by accident -- that in the middle of the fifties there were reform trends, all at the same time, in many socialist countries and the beginning of the sixties was marked by the trend of large-scale mergers and centralization. Then in the middle of the sixties there was another wave of reform running through; in some countries this applied to theory, elsewhere to practical endeavors and the political mechanism. Then the beginning of the seventies was once again, a period of counterreform, even in countries such as the GDR that had been little affected by reforms. So, these matters crop up at the same time. That means that these processes are moved along not only by the autonomy and self-movement of internal politics, economic policies and social movement and of recurring tensions but some kind of concurrence seems to apply. What is the cause of these cycles?

[Nyers] In my view reform cycles cannot be assessed in abstract terms. Although it is possible that there is some kind of general law applying to them, nonetheless, they must be put in the context of a particular specific situation. In my opinion, the reforms of the fifties, sixties, and the seventies have different motivations. In the fifties it was seen most obviously in agriculture that the existing methods of husbandry were not good, that they were endangering the living standards policy, and thus hindered the winning over of the masses in the contest between the two systems.

[Antal] Was that only in Hungary or in general?

[Nyers] This was generally true. It was not by accident that the 20th congress and Khrushchevism as a trend emerged in the USSR and brought to the surface a great many positive developments, which served as lessons with general validity and which were also very significant in Hungary. This was the motivation behind things in the fifties. It had also become clear by the middle of the fifties that the methods, system of institutions, and the entire model of socialist economic activity had not succeeded in being adapted to the national conditions and to reality.

In the decade of the sixties there emerged the need for intensive methods in industry. This had not been characteristic of the fifties.. It is very interesting to see how the successful collectivization of agriculture affected the increase in the requirements facing industrial activity. Collectivization siphoned off substantial material resources from the accumulation fund of the people's economy. The view of those who underestimated the material requirements and burdens brought about by collectivization at the end of the fifties and the beginning of the sixties has not been proved right. Since the opportunity for taking a share of accumulation had been narrowed down for industry, there was a significantly greater need for intensive economic management, efficiency, a and raising profitability. This was characteristic of the sixties.

[Nyers] In the seventies there was already a very strong international economic impact, an external economic impact which achieved the invigoration of a reform wave, and in the decade of the seventies a new situation presented itself in the system of relations between the world economy and the socialist countries. CEMA's contacts with the world markets have become different and seem to have remained qualitatively different from previous contacts. The need for such contacts in greater, there are more of them, whereas the impact initiated in the world economy creates much more trouble for all socialist countries, even for the Soviet Union which is the least open to the world economy.

[Antal] It is possible then to say that the mutual dependence is irreversible, in contrast to the rather strong previous autarchy?

[Nyers] In my opinion it is possible and I dare to say it in this way. It is already evident today that a national economic autarchy is not a road that can be followed. Creating a closed sphere of CEMA self-supporting, in my opinion, is also impossible today not only in terms of economic policy -- I say something that possibly will appear strange to some -- but even from the viewpoint of our universal political principles and practice. To raise the living standard of our peoples in a closed economic system, in respect of a modern consumption structure, service, and mode of living would be impossible; to solve this in a closed CEMA self-supplying system would be impossible.

[Antal] Nevertheless this is an existing endeavor, not only on the level of CEMA but also at that of the national economy and even on the level of individual enterprises. Without any intention to that effect, the assumption arises that a hierarchical planned economy, which in its classical form was the centralized planned-command system -- many of whose aspects are still alive -- leads toward autarchy in many respects. It appears to be almost an inherent endeavor, wherever the supply of materials and cooperation links are insecure, that an enterprise, on the one hand, will try to subsume in itself its cooperation partner and the national economy, on the other hand, also strives to think in such a way as to avoid specialization. We have here the problems, again and again becoming more acute, of CEMA specialization which, while formally making progress, is making very little headway in practice, as can be seen. In fact, everyone is striving for security by ensuring that the key to the electric switch stays in their own hands. This is what is described as a rule when talking about autarchy in energy supplies. However, this thought lies behind all forms of autarchy. In other words, these tendencies are still capable of revival in a very forceful way.

[Nyers] I believe it is true that while in theory autarchy is weaker today, in practice it is stronger. This is because, as you have said, striving for self-sufficiency is a peculiar response to practical difficulties, at the level of an enterprise, the national economy, and CEMA alike. In the final analysis, in my view, all striving for autarchy reacts to the backwardness of the market and market conditions. These attempts are a search for an easier short-term solution which, in the long term, however, represent resistance to the laws of economic development.

After all, specialization, mass production, low production costs, and profitability are opposed by these attempts. Indeed, these attempts go against everything we endlessly describe in our university textbooks and propaganda material as positive endeavors.

I do not want to philosophize in general terms, but I have observed in the course of my career -- if I may make this remark -- that almost every incorrect theory contains a small rational kernel. This also applies to the concept of autarchy -- which appears in practice mostly in the form of replacing imports by domestic products -- which contains a true and correct kernel. This means that there are many opportunities today both in Hungary and in CEMA cooperation for producing within the national economy or CEMA much needed import materials and technologies and to do so economically. This is the point, though: It is to be done in an economical way even by international standards.

Now, the autarchic trend declares that we should produce everything at home. Within the framework of a rational reform policy, we should accept that we are to produce everything at home, or within CEMA, that we can make at world market standards. There are many opportunities for this. One of the serious contradictions of the domestic, as well as the CEMA, autarchic trend is that while it is striving for import substitution, it does not deal with the need for loosening up, in the spirit of such a policy, the overconcentrated and inflexible production apparatus. This is because if I want to produce and substitute certain imported products economically, then this can only be done in a limited way with inflexible production apparatuses geared for large-scale output. In the USSR it has taken 50 years -- since the thirties -- and in the socialist countries, unfortunately, 35 years have elapsed before it was realized -- and only realized but, perhaps, in part to be admitted -- that society needs small- and medium-scale production units to play a role in economic life.

[Antal] I would like to return to the issue that there have been ebbs and flows of reform. One can reach the conclusion, at least on the basis of the Hungarian experiences, that the way this happens is as follows: After the revival of a process of reform, sooner or later there arises, very probably, though I would not say of necessity, positions of stalemate. In other words, the old balance of forces and the old-established organizational frameworks remain and they want to preserve the former system and feel more and more that the maintenance of reform threatens, at least potentially, to change their positions gradually but also radically. This starts up the process of settling back into the old ways. At least, this has been the experience in Hungary. It does not require any outside force. It is typical, and I believe we may accept this for a fact, that this process of reversal was not started by the world economic crisis, as we wanted to perceive this. On the countrary, it began much earlier, at the very beginning of the seventies, and it was openly declared in 1972 that there would be reversals to the process of reform.

Clearly there were obvious direct economic reasons for this, namely, that the reform was not functioning well everywhere. I do not think, however, that these economic reasons can explain the reversal, because these very same economic reasons could also justify further advance, namely further, more consistent reform measures. The more significant reasons lay outside the economy, that is to say, there is a more general reason, as I see it in the reform cycles. How would you, Comrade Nyers, assess the Hungarian experiences from this point of view?

[Nyers] I agree that, in the final analysis, it is not economic reasons that bring about a certain degree of reversal that always seems to occur. It appears that politicians who resolve to bring about reforms must expect, from the very beginning, a reversal trend. The experience of reforms in the socialist world also show that social conditions resist to a considerable extent substantive and real reforms, though not measures that deal only with details.

Now, on the basis of Hungarian experiences, the situation that is characterized and moves in the direction of reversal is strengthened by the fact that every comprehensive reform contains a series of measures on such a scale that the majority of these measures should be lasting, yet there will remain a great many measures that soon lose their validity. In other words, these measures need to be modified. This modification is not a process designed to correct the reform through reversal, but is merely a period for correcting its individual aspects. It can also create a rather peculiar climate in everyday thinking because it makes people think in terms of correcting things in a regressive way. Policies can also very easily slide back into this trend. Nevertheless, I would still call these necessary things and it depends on the determination of the political leadership and the politically active strata whether they are capable of further developing reform rather than correcting it back into the old ways.

I would add to all this that I consider it very important whether there is a political determination and, indeed, a political camp, in society that guarantees the patience needed, not only for 1 or 2 years but also for a somewhat longer period, say in the medium range, 5 to 6 years. This patience is needed for reforms to be able to bring about their effects. After all, real reforms, while they may contain short-term advantages whenever that is possible -- and that is not always the case -- only produce true advantages in the long-term because every reform is, basically, an investment in the future. A society that does not have the patience for this witnesses the triumph of the process of the reversal of reforms, based on many reasons, and reform loses out.

I must say that this patience requires an ideology that can clearly see, and can make others see, the need for reforms from the point of view of society's future. If the ideological sphere nurtures a static thinking in people, and if it gives rise to the belief that we are masters of our conditions of production to such an extent that on every day of the year and in every year of the process of history it is dependent only on us for what kind of results we achieve -- in other words, if it ignores historically determined factors -- then this produces antireform ideas in people. After all, people will think: "Why can't we do things better? Why doesn't it tell us what we should do? So, in concrete terms, within our conditions, we cannot suggest, on the basis of our experiences and in my view, a belief in people that we have already built up the socialist conditions of production to such an extent that all that is now needed for prosperity and good results are good human actions. If that is what ideology suggests, it nurtures the failure of reforms. And this is done every day by every university lecuture and every newspaper article.

[Antal] I began work in 1967 and, as it will remain a determining experience for the rest of my life, on the crest of a wave of reform. I was, if you like, a young bureaucrat at the time and felt that there were no limits to improving society. Looking back at it today, with the benefit of hindsight in many respects, I wanted to spread the reform with the methods of the planned-command system. It was like inquisitors trying to spread democracy.

In other words, my belief was that everything could be achieved much better by the use of regulators than that of the planned-command system. That was a very widespread ideology at the time. I consider it to have been significant because an enlightened state bureacracy played a very important part in the reform process itself. This was a very great strength behind the reform movement.

Looking beyond this, there were scientists and a few people, I do not believe a great many, at the summit of political leadership, who can be described as having been supporters of reform. One issue that cropped up was that society should be won over to what is sometimes referred to -- and, quite frankly, I like the term -- the model of "welfare socialism," oriented toward society. However, astonishingly from my point of view, this did not really have supporters in a broader strata.

Intellectuals in the arts and humanities used the same concept those days that they are presently doing, namely, "the loss of values." Indeed, I will come back to this. The state apparatus had a very ambiguous attitude. Managers and enterprise leaders showed even greater ambivalence toward reform. I noted that as things were, the few enterprising managers, who were always cited as examples to follow, could be enterprising even without a reform because they lived in a framework of relationships in which they were privileged enough to do so. For them, reform was a matter of indifference in that respect.

[Antal] Leaders of important enterprises were losing their privileges by the reform, their guaranteed access to state resources was endangered. So they were against the reform. The state apparatus was ambivalent: They wanted the reform but they were also afraid of it. This ambivalence was already felt in the clean, honest, early period of the reform. The reform had no solid social base. This, I feel, is the main reason for the regresses. Frankly speaking, the responsibility of the reformers is great in this respect.

[Nyers] You are right saying that state apparatus has been ambivalent for a long time. I would apply the same to a wide strata of enterprise managers. I did not see that the managerial strata were against the reform. They were afraid of the reform, but they also had hopes. This ambivalence in the case of a reform like ours is justified. The question is how long this ambivalence lasts and in what direction it is resolved. Unfortunately, from 1972 until 1980, which is, of course, historically only a short period, a kind of directive thinking took over and this resulted in a regress of reform thinking. But finally, historical necessity broke through and now in the eighties both managers and state officials are getting rid of their ambivalence. The situation also helps in this respect. I would add here that ambivalence of managers and of officials was justified because they felt unhampered. They felt it in the foreign political situation, in internal movements as well. The politically active strata, which plays a decisive role, became weaker in faith and in unity at the beginning of the seventies.

I say that ambivalence is still better than an unequivocal position supporting the past. Ambivalence makes society flexible and capable of progress. Of course, in such a condition the responsibility of those who form policies is extremely great.

In the late sixties and early seventies in Hungarian politics, we had no clear concepts concerning the world economy. We had no proper predictions. We had certain illusions in judging the opportunities of CEMA cooperation. We thought the Hungarian reform, as a specific phenomenon, would find its opportunities within the international reform process. This did not happen. Therefore, we kept up the reform without serious international support. This explains why a compromise had to be made. Ideologically, we have not accomplished the collation of reform politics with the socialist system of values. This is still very poorly done in Hungary. It is not mainly the responsibility of reform politicians, but rather of those who try to solve the question of socialist values disregarding the processes in real life. In this situation, compromise was necessary. Both trends, the pro-reform trend and the one which is afraid of the reform, are upholding their position.

The problem stemming from this is that Hungarian politics, in that period especially, today to a lesser extent, misses the capacity to value properly and put into the political space of movement the different coexisting views and to let this dialectic work. Instead of this, we were prone to try to reflect in the old-fashioned way the monolithic unity in every question. Not only in principal questions, not only in the question of the main political line, but also in the question of economic reform. In my view, it is not unnatural that people who agree in the general political line, disagree in the principal question of the economic reform. But it is not a good distribution of work that one tries to win artificially over the other, one only facing the problems, the other only criticizing.

[Antal] The present period of reform is much more colorful. Different opinions are allowed to be expressed. At the same time our present difficulties are much deeper, much more general. The dynamic increase of consumption is taken off from the agenda. There is no way to postpone again the change toward intensive development.

[Nyers] I agree with this. Reform policy has no alternative today. It is a necessity or rather a compulsion. We simply have no other choice. I judge our present political situation definitely better, more developed than the one 10-12 years ago. I feel the internal dialectics of the socialist society is better admitted in political terms.

For the time being a danger continues to exist that a kind of monolithic militaristic unity is sought and dreamt of, but this contradicts every historical experience and in fact, it contradicts Marxism. It has to be said that neither Marx, nor Lenin imagined as a militaristic unity [passage indistinct]

[Antal] Speaking about the present period, no doubt, a loss of values can be observed. In a certain sense the background for a feeling of security is eroding. Ordinary people describe as important values the stability of prices, the right to workplace, and before 1979 secure managerial positions. These secure and stable things -- I do not say these are indispensable for socialism -- are slowly changing. The feeling of uncertainty influences a great number of people. At the moment those who can feel secure are those who can free themselves from state direction, state regulation. Those who are remaining inside of this, are more and more under pressure, unable to move. These are justifiably producing aversions that have a demoralizing effect in the positive process of reform. The two sides are interwoven and today this is rather conspicuous. This may become even a brake on the process.

[Nyers] Yes. In the process of reform politics, the system of economic and social relations is changing and values are in a specific state of crisis, because a need has arisen to revaluate these things. One reason can be found in the relations of the first and the second economy. The second economy was hidden, from the point of view that values of things could be correctly assessed. The problem though was even greater than today. When the second economy opened, the problem of value system had arisen and a real economic problem as well: the extreme inflexibility that binds activity. Maybe in a lesser degree than in the past, but the public feels these constraints are even greater. Within the system of directives constraints were natural, but today they are not natural even for the leadership and the collectives of the large enterprises. This leads to a sharpening of the problem of values.

In my view only pessimism can follow from a confrontation of old ideological values with economic reform, a position which thwarts practical activity. In what sense can we speak about a unified system of values? The security of existence you were referring to, yes, it is a value of the socialist policy, a value of the socialist society. Equality of chances, although it has not been fully realized -- we are rather far from it -- this also belongs to the system of values of the socialist policies. I could further list the values belonging here, but I could also list those ideas that have to be reexamined. The right to workplace has to be thought over, or in fact, it has to be eliminated. Even the right to work has to be reinterpreted, and this needs both a political and an ideological solution. That means we have to agree to a certain change in the system of values. It would be a hyprocritical stand to say that problems are greater now because we are openly speaking about them, than earlier when we were keeping silent about them, in the hope of progress. Such progress could not be, in fact, realized. Socialists have to avoid being hypocritical.

[Antal] In spite of our failures we have accumulated a great deal of historical experience. There is an anecdote by Karinthy [Hungarian writer] in which the corporal teaches the soldier to shoot.

[Nyers] Yes.

[Antal] He adds a sentence. The ninth shot is late. The hand of the corporal trembles, but his eyes see the targe a bit better. Do our eyes see the target better?

[Nyers] I think, yes, in the series of shots we start to see the target more clearly. Probably our weapon is also better by now. And I would add here that in Hungarian politics, in Hungarian society something is maturing. Only in an embryonic state, but it is maturing. A kind of movement, a strive to move, to act is developing. It is not that we try to plan and realize a united action by the 10 million Hungarians, which is completely impossible.

This is rather similar to the start of the movement of the reform-generation in the era of Szechenyi and Kossuth. Today, similar movements are maturing in Hungary. I feel we have to move, we have to act for the society in the fight for the future. Referring to the Karinthy story we not only have to shoot, but we have to reach the shooting ground, and we have to stand there and must not be removed by the crisis of the world economy and by our difficulties.

ENTERPRISE, COOPERATING WAGE-REGULATION SYSTEM

LD182006 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 18 Dec 83

[Text] Beginning tomorrow Hungarian enterprises and cooperatives can indicate if they wish to introduce experimental wage-regulation. One of the department heads of the State Office for Wages and Labor had told the correspondent of HETFOEI HIREK that the essence of the new rules is that wage increases may be higher than before at efficient firms without the need to pay progressive tax on profits.

The present wage-regulation is based on an approximate average 5 percent wage increase. According to the new ideas, however, the best enterprises taking part in the experimental regulation may give substantially higher increases.

Enterprises and cooperatives are also now permitted to raise the price of their products, adding part of the money spent on wage increases. Therefore the authorities will permit the experiment to involve only those firms that are not in a monopolistic position and whose prices are developed in competition with others. Applications will be studied beginning in mid-January.

ELECTRICITY SUPPLY AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH USSR

LD162103 Budapest MTI in English 1746 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Text] Budapest, December 16 (MTI) -- Representatives of the Hungarian Electricity Board and the Soviet Energomashexport foreign trade company Friday signed in Budapest an agreement on the supply by the Soviet Union of 8,800 million kilowatt-hours of electricity next year, which is expected to meet a quarter of Hungary's demand.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS APPROVES 1984 ECONOMIC PLAN

LD162006 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Text] The Council of Ministers has examined and approved executive documents for the Central Annual Plan for next year, adopted by the Sejm 2 weeks ago. Monetary and market balance is of key importance. In the plan for 1984 some increase of real wages is envisaged. It will demand close linking of remunerations with increased production and productivity. To this end appropriate modifications of mechanisms and instruments of economic reform will be introduced. Also, the policy of difficult money will be intensified, including reduction of tax relief, and preferences in liabilities toward the fund for vocational activization. These steps should reduce the scale of inflation.

Material supply will be directed first of all toward achieving an increased supply of articles that are in short supply, particularly market articles, and to this end, the number of government orders will be increased. The list of goods and technologies that consume excessive amounts of energy and materials has been enlarged, and are included in the ban on production or application.

Next year priority will be given to supply and financial relief for enterprises producing for export. Investment resources, both central and that of enterprises, should be directed first of all to undertakings that can bring speedy results and that can be accomodated in the supply possibilities of the economy. Also the entire investment process will be more strict.

The Council of Ministers was also acquainted with proposals concerning extraordinary, interventionist steps aimed at speeding up the development of housing construction. This proposal was made at a recent session of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] by Professor Adolf Ciborowski, chairman of the Warsaw PRON Council. Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski invited Professor Ciborowski to take part in this part of the Council of Ministers session.

The professor acquainted members of the government with details of his idea to provide for the speedy construction, with simple means, of additional numbers of apartments where the situation is most critical. Professor Ciborowski explained his proposal by examples of actions taken during post-war reconstruction of Warsaw and Silesian towns and also during natural disasters abroad where Polish building workers were able to erect houses speedily from prefabricated elements.

On behalf of the Council of Ministers Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski conveyed cordial thanks to Professor Ciborowski for such a useful initiative, which should help in solving one of the most important social problems of our country.

The Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on the rationing of goods next year. The following will be rationed: meat and its products, butter, lard, animal and vegetable fats excluding oil, sugar, chocolate products, wheat flour, grain products, semolina, powdered milk, and cotton wool for children up to 1 year old. The ration levels will remain unchanged in relation to this year's levels. The Council of Ministers considered the proposal made by trade unions to end the rationing of vegetable fats. However, it was assessed that the stocks of vegetable fats at present will not allow rationing to be ended.

Next, the Council of Ministers was briefed on the proposals for reform of trade margins in 1984-85. The proposed reform provides for an improvement in the financial situation of trade organizations and improvement of service for customers.

The Council of Ministers approved the regulation concerning detailed operation of the Office for the Protection of the Environment and Water Economy and a resolution on granting a statute to the office.

The Council of Ministers approved an amendment to the draft law on a change in the Penal-Fiscal Act and also to some regulations of the penal law and the law on misdemeanors. The aim of the new version is to increase the penal responsibility of people employed in the socialized economy, who act to the detriment of the social good, who fail to carry out their official responsibilities, or who exceed their powers in order to obtain financial advantages.

The Council of Ministers made changes in the resolution on the economy activity of social organizations. Their essence is to enable trade unions to carry on economic activity destined for statutory purposes. [as received].

The full text of the communique of the session of the Council of Ministers will be published by tomorrow's press.

WALESA APPEAL TO LIFT SANCTIONS CRITICIZED

AU152129 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Dec 83 pp 2-3

["Observer" commentary: "Washington's Endeavors"]

[Excerpts] In 1980, the U.S. Government recognized that its "softening" policy toward Poland in the seventies had been successful: The "regime" started to collapse, political groups in favor of American intentions began to act in an overt manner, and these groups gained the support of mass organizations and therefore influenced the development of Polish events. The United States reacted in a very interesting way: It drastically restricted further credits for Poland. It justified this by means of economic considerations, in other words the reduced profitability of dealing with a Poland beset by an economic crisis.

The American justifications for the restrictions are hypocritical. For as a pretext to breaking the economic agreements with Poland, America used those same Polish domestic political principles and relationships, which had not been a barrier to signing these agreements earlier although our domestic policy at that time was much less open to reform and dialog. The United States and the governments supporting its policy believe that the restrictions should be continued because of facts, measures, and solutions characteristic of Polish domestic policy that were no obstacle to the establishment of relations between the United States and other countries in the west, north, east, or south.

Right now, the United States is facing the fiasco of its own sanctions policy. The United States has not achieved the results it intended. It has not succeeded either in winning over numerous sections of Polish society in order to revolt against the ruling system, nor in weakening people's authority so that it can no longer serve its purpose. Neither has it succeeded in forcing the PPR authorities to alter their policy to suit U.S. requirements.

However, President Ronald Reagan is not willing to publicly state that the policy of restrictions, propaganda aggression, and political pressure that he applied against Poland has not brought the expected results and that it is therefore necessary to change policy. The U.S. Government does not want to admit to being powerless or to having been defeated; instead, it is seeking ways of quietly reverting to the ineffective policy, without admitting that this policy has turned out useless.

At the same time, American politicians do not want to ease the burden of the sanctions for the time being, for they are counting on the fact that the economic troubles Poland is experiencing will turn out to their political advantage. So they still wish to keep the economic screw turned tight, but at the same time they wish to open up a way to a future turnabout. We have observed the process of seeking this side exit. When Lech Walesa received the Nobel Peace Prize, it was obvious that he would be entrusted with some role to play in Washington's schemes, because this idea is hotly supported by means of gigantic propaganda (not without cost to Washington because of the considerable ridicule and criticism in the West about the award of a peace prize to Walesa).

First, efforts were made to increase the importance of Walesa's voice, after which Walesa himself spoke out. No doubt he performed the above task willingly because he could receive propaganda acclaim and material support in return for having to support someone else's politics, which place him in the position of an enemy of the basic interests of every family.

However, Lech Walesa did not wish to take full advantage of the possibility given him, which means that he only said what the American political conditions required him to say and not a single thing more. He carried out his instructions to the letter. For he only called for a lifting of those sanctions that have no economic significance and do not affect the standard of living of his fellow countrymen. He said that Poland could use fish and that aircraft should fly; however, the restrictions concerning trade and credits should be continued as long as America's political conditions are not met, he said.

Although Walesa only said what the U.S. Government had announced earlier -- Poland had rejected these announcements as a game of appearances -- American reaction to Walesa's words was as expected. Reagan, his secretary of state, and his deputy secretary of state have already made statements. At first it seemed as if they were all saying different things. It seemed as if Walesa's speech had not been planned but had come as a surprise to the United States and caused it confusion. For the deputy secretary of state said that in proposing to lift some of the sanctions, Walesa does not represent Polish society because Polish society loves the sanctions. Yet Reagan himself did not discount Walesa as his deputy secretary of state had done, but, on the contrary, said that "Walesa is a great man." The President immediately paid "serious" attention to his words. (Let us add that the U.S. President listens to Lech Walesa closely, and not the opposite, as DZIENNIK BALTYCKI suggested). But Secretary of State Shultz said that the United States would not lift the sanctions. He did not promise that he would consider Lech Walesa's new views.

If one examines these American voices calmly, one may understand that the above American politicians were quite simply dealing with separate affairs. Reagan gave Walesa propaganda support on the eve of the Oslo gathering of Polish opponents of socialism. The deputy secretary guaranteed Walesa an alibi that he was not subservient to American interests because he had even aroused the U.S. Government's anger. His chief, Shultz, however, allegedly said that the sanctions would be continued, and this he said before his chief -- the President -- announced what turns out to be Reagan's reflections on Walesa's speech made at the Church of St. Brygida in Gdansk.

One can foresee the next step. The U.S. Government will ceremoniously present its stance toward the "Walesa appeal." It will say that as long as the Polish authorities do not meet American political conditions, the sanctions will continue. Yet because Walesa is a "great person" to the American Administration and what he says is sacred to American presidents, the United States will obey his wishes. They may do this by partly restoring our fishing rights in U.S. waters because this is a good source of business for American fishing companies and they are demanding it. The United States knows that fishing in U.S. waters is no longer important to us because our fishing fleet is already fishing in other waters on the basis of other international agreements.

One may also assume that LOT -- Polish Airlines aircraft -- may once again be able to land in New York because this will not feed the Poles and will be convenient for American citizens traveling to Poland. Finally, one may assume that just to please Walesa, the United States will be ready to discuss with Poland the repayment of our debts. For it is in the interests of the U.S. Government that Poland should pay, not refrain from paying. After this America will create a great deal of propaganda fuss and will say that Walesa is the savior of the Polish nation.

After this exchange of favors between President Reagan and ex-chairman Walesa, the American sanctions will remain in force and nothing will change in Polish-American relations except that the U.S. Government will be able to use Walesa's name in order to eventually lift the sanctions.

This will occur when the U.S. Government admits it can no longer count on economic presure causing despair and a destabilization of relations in Poland, and when the U.S. Government perceives that the forces of the opposition have grown even weaker, have no social support, and have no hope of successfully inciting unrest. In other words, the sanctions will be lifted when the United States stops counting on a return to the anarchy and conflicts in Poland which characterized 1981, and when it reaches the final conclusion that the sanctions policy cannot bring America anything. The United States will lift the sanctions when complete calm reigns in Poland and the normalization process comes to an end. (If, for example, the Polish Government were to fulfill some American political condition, Reagan would immediately impose a new, more far-reaching condition, and would wait once again for another destabilization in Poland). A lifting of the sanctions by the United States is not meant to be the successful result of the Polish authorities' stabilization policy, but the result of Walesa's magic eyes. The United States will probably also dangle some economic carrot in front of our eyes and tell the Polish authorities that they can have this carrot provided that they lift Lech Walesa up and seize the goody with his hands.

All of these schemes and plans of the U.S. Government quite simply have no sense because stabilization is progressing despite the sanctions, because Poland, with the help of its friends, is emerging from the crisis slowly but surely, and because the American conditions, enhanced either by sanctions or by promises, will not alter our domestic policy one single bit. Therefore, no remote-controlled figure will be a partner of the authorities or a participant in dialog.

We demand that the United States open up the road to restoring economic and financial cooperation with Poland by lifting all sanctions, making good all the damage it has done, refraining from interference in our internal affairs, and stopping the propaganda aggression carried out by the Polish-language radio stations. If the United States does not embark along this road, Poland will in any case break the international isolation that the United States managed to cause. However, the absence of the United States and of its interests in that part of the world known as Pland will become even more conspicuous and will become permanent.

DELEGATIONS COMMEMORATE SHIPYARD WORKERS' DEATHS

LD161027 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Text] Bouquets and wreaths of flowers were laid today at the monuments that commemorate the 13th anniversary of the tragic December events: in Gdansk, at the foot of the Monument to the Fallen Shipyard Workers, and in Gdynia, at the foot of the monument to the victims of December 1970. Wreaths and bouquets of flowers were laid by delegations from the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth municipal councils and from major workplaces.

[Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1105 GMT on 16 December reports the following:

["Delegations from the PRON municipal council, Lenin Shipyard, northern shipyard named after the Westerplatte heroes, management of the Gdansk port, Radunia Shipyard, and the Railway Rolling Stock Repair Yard laid bouquets at the foot of the Monument to the Fallen Shipyard Workers in Gdansk.

["Delegations from the PRON municipal council, Komuna Paryska Shipyard, management of the Gdynia port, the Polish Ocean Lines, the Dalmor enterprise, and the Nauta Shipyard laid flowers at the foot of the monument to the victims of December 1970, in Gdynia."]

Commentary Views Deaths

LD161235 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Piotr Taczowski commentary]

[Text] Thirteen years ago, during the grey December days, dramatic events took place in the coastal region. They are forever inscribed in the memory and consciousness of the tricity inhabitants, as well as those who live in Szczecin and Elblag. Their political dimension was a known factor. However, an analysis of the underlying causes was postponed.

It was in the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk that August, 1980 was born. It is therefore, not surprising that the best known monument was built in front of its gates. It has already acquired a history of its own, a difficult history. A custom has evolved -- similar to Gdynia and Elblag -- to lay flowers at its foot, by the representatives of society and the authorities.

This means that the intention of the shipyard workers who first had the idea of constructing the monument is confirmed and that we do remember. Representatives of the authorities remember and society also remembers. For a month now, foreign broadcasting stations have been calling for turning the anniversary of the December events into days of antisocialist demonstrations. The square in front of the Monument to the Fallen Shipyard Workers would be the venue for this sort of action.

To make political capital from the December tragedy, said Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski during a party conference on the Gdansk Shipyard, is something unworthy. To play political games in front of the Monument to the Fallen Shipyard Workers is something that is highly immoral and unethical.'

The events that took place on the coast completely revealed all the weaknesses and mistakes of the authorities at the time. They revealed, above all, the absence of an ability to anticipate, the fact that matters to do with everyday life were being underestimated, a lack of genuine ties with the working people.

The party was able to draw conclusions from this lesson. They were reflected in the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress and in the report of the Central Committee's commission, set up to explain the causes and course of social conflicts in the history of Poland. This testifies to the PZPR's strength and not to its weakness. It also bears witness to a profound conviction that the idea of propagating social equality and justice is correct.

Here, on the banks of the Vistula, we are at home, a home of our own, where we wish to lead better and calmer lives. We are a nation that can afford it. Edmund Osmanczyk writes about this in his "Sprawy Polakow" ["Polish Affairs"].

Each Pole must give an answer to this question on his own, as an individual. Today's tricity press publishes these reflections today, on the anniversary of the December events.

PROTESTORS DISRUPT WROCLAW TRANSPORTATION

LD171631 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 17 Dec 83

[Text] For several days the foreign centers and hostile underground have been urging mass demonstrations. These appeals have met an insignificant response.

Yesterday afternoon in Wroclaw groups of young people urged hostile demonstrations, moving from the Market Place along Swidnicka and Swierczewskiego Streets toward the railway station. This caused a disruption of municipal transportation. In this situation, the forces of order dispersed these groups and restored order. About 1700, calm prevailed in the town. Over 20 persons were detained.

The attitude of passersby was characteristic. When urged by the militia, they have been leaving places where public order was disturbed. Many of them have loudly criticized the young troublemakers, only to be greeted with vulgar shouting.

WALESA REMARKS ON LOW TURNOUT AT RALLIES

NC171416 Paris AFP in English 1349 GMT 17 Dec 83

[Text] Gdansk, Poland, Dec 17 (AFP) -- The lack of response to Solidarity's call for peaceful demonstrations yesterday was the result of a huge police and militia deployment and did not reflect a loss of support for the banned trade union, Lech Walesa said today. In an interview at his home with AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, Mr Walesa, the leader of Solidarity, said he saw no defeat for Solidarity in the rallies, called to commemorate the anniversaires of workers riots in 1970 and the deaths of nine miners in Silesia in 1981.

Referring to the initials of Solidarity's clandestine Coordinating Commission, he said: "The TKK did not lose, and there can be no question of a defeat for the workers." The TKK appeal for the rallies met with very little response, except in the southwestern town of Wroclaw, where police and militia charged several thousand demonstrators. The reason for the low turnout, Mr Walesa said, was the massive use of police and militia in all of Poland's major cities to prevent gatherings.

In Gdansk yesterday, Mr Walesa's wife, Danuta laid a wreath at a monument to workers killed in 1970 riots, after passing through huge phalanxes of police preventing anyone else near the memorial. Mrs Walesa herself had to show police a certificate from the mayor of Gdansk authorizing her or her husband to lay a wreath, but only on a personal basis. "It is good that he (Mr Walesa) is not here to see all this," she had said, referring to the riot police.

During today's interview, Mr Walesa said the populace had not wanted to confront the huge police presence "with bare hands." "There was a lot of green," Mr Walesa said, referring to the color of uniforms worn by the special riot militia known as the ZOMOS. In the future, he added, the tactic will be to try to demonstrate when they are not deployed. Mr Walesa also expressed concern that the massive police presence would lead to a radicalization of worker attitudes. "After yesterday," he said, "I'm afraid that next time, workers may demonstrate and confront authorities with grenades."

Mr Walesa also tried to dispel rumors that he and the TKK had disagreed over the demonstrations. The rumors started when he said recently that using "the street" was not a "peaceful conception of struggle," thereby implying that he disapproved of the TKK's appeal. He said today: "There is no dissension between me and the TKK."

ECONOMIC RECOVERY FOR IMMEDIATE FUTURE DISCUSSED

LD180041 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Dec 83

[Text] The draft budget bill for the coming year, the draft resolutions on the 1984 balance of payments, the credit plan, the balance between population income and expenditure, the assumptions on 1984 credit policy, the plan for the cultural development central fund, and the specification of the goods and services for which official prices are demanded have been accepted by the Sejm Commissions for the Economic Plan, Budget, and Finances and Legislative Work. The general conclusion that follows once one has become acquainted with these documents, PAP states, can be formulated as follows: The draft budget gives a faithful reflection of the socioeconomic position of the state. It is characterized by many tensions and dangers which mean that it is hard to count on a rapid radical restoration of economic equilibrium in the immediate future. In Poland's current financial situation there is no chance of fulfilling the expectations of all those who count on an increase in the size of their national income allocation.

PZPR COMMISSION DISCUSSES PRICES QUESTIONNAIRE

LD162151 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Text] The Social Policy Commission of the PZPR Central Committee has acquainted itself with the course to date of the consultations on the food price increases. The Office of Prices has received about 2,000 letters. Several trade union federations and 70 trade unions have put forth their points of view. Summaries have been prepared of 10,000 of the 50,000 answers to the questionnaire. It is still too early for final conclusions, but one can make several general remarks: The majority is in favor of a smaller increase in the prices of basic commodities with a larger increase for luxury goods. The opinion prevails that the increases should be more frequent, but smaller.

Taking part in the commission's deliberations were representatives of several national trade union organizations. The discussion was summed up by Jan Glowczyk, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, who stressed that every decision is a compromise between economic logic and an evaluation of social effects.

PAP REPORTS GROWTH IN TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP

LD171004 Warsaw PAP in English 2018 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Text] Warsaw 16 Dec -- [Words indistinct] passed since the reconstruction of trade union movement in Poland began from scratch. At the end of November 1983 trade union membership reached about 3.7 million. According to statistics, over the first 5 months of 1983, an average of 300,000 to 370,000 people joined new unions every month. In July only some 155,000 people acceded to the [words indistinct] amounted to 135,000, in September to 180,000, in October to some 153,000, and in November it was little higher than 100,000.

These figures testify to the thesis that during the initial period mainly those people joined new trade unions who were already convinced of the necessity of existence of strong, independent and self-governing union structures in a socialist state. It seems that at [words indistinct] the process of trade union formation centered the next, and a more difficult stage, that of winning over those people who are still hesitant and waiting. There are still plants, including some major ones, where such people account for the majority of workers. The most important task all trade union organizations are facing now is to convince these people of the necessity of existence of strong, i.e. also numerically big, trade unions.

The advancement of development of trade union movement varies between industries and regions of Poland. The percentage of trade union members among those who are eligible for membership varies from below 30 to over 40 percent from one industry and voivodship to another. At the end of November there were more than 373,000 union members in the 208 biggest work establishments of Poland, i.e. over 31 percent of those elegible. Generally, one can state that the trade union movement has been developing at a faster pace in smaller work establishments and in smaller urban centers so far.

According to the law on trade unions, employees of over 27,000 enterprises and institutions have the right to establish trade union organisations. By November this year factory-level trade unions or founding committees were active in some 25,000 work establishments, and by the end of November voivodship courts [words indistinct] over 19 thousand factory-level organizations.

The voivodship court in Warsaw has registered 55 national level trade union organizations to-date. 33 suprafactory organisations have already held their congresses and it is expected that above 100 nationwide organisations will emerge eventually. This testifies to a considerable segmentation of the trade union movement, and also to the desire of individual organizations to preserve the maximum of independence and self-goverance. However, not all the nationwide organisations will be able, for financial reasons, among other things, to carry on an independent activity, and sooner or later we shall probably see them merging.

The range of questions trade unions deal with today is steadily growing. Apart from organizational issues, trade unionists actively participate in shaping factory welfare policies, act in favour of improving the safety of work, participate in the action of securing winter supplies for the [word indistinct] take part in discussions on remuneration systems, etc.

AUDERSKA INTERVIEWED ON NEW WRITERS UNION

AU141839 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 10 Dec 83 p 8

[Interview with Halina Auderska, chairwoman of the Union of Polish Writers, by Zdzislaw Pietrasik: "To Quell the Fear"; date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Pietrasik] How many members does the new Union of Polish Writers have?

[Auderska] About 350. However, I must add at once that we put no pressure on any of them to join. We are only now beginning to send out our pledge forms and statutes and only to those who have supported us before.

[Pietrasik] How do you intend to win the great names over to the union, those who are not present?

[Auderska] Which means who? Because many outstanding writers have already applied.

[Pietrasik] And the rest?

[Auderska] I have not made a single move in their direction and will tell you why. I do not like the way that some of them try to dissuade people from joining the Union of Polish Writers.

[Pietrasik] Who tries to do this?

[Auderska] The people who put others off. How can I be sure who they are? But this dissuasion is very common, to the extent that misleading information is spread about us, although what translators say about us must be taken differently as they will not be able to join the Union of Polish Writers at the moment. I must say that I was against this but was outvoted. However, we will do everything to ensure that translators have the right conditions to do their professional work, as well as the same privileges that we have. Even today they can take advantage of our discussion hall, our dining hall, our creative workshop, and our library.

[Pietrasik] To what degree will the union be a new Union of Polish Writers, and to what degree will it be an old style union? And what in fact was the meaning of this "Iwaszkiewicz style" that some writers are currently referring to? I am sure you know because you worked together with Iwaszkiewicz for many years.

[Auderska] I worked closely with Iwaszkiewicz on the union's main administration for 12 years. However, I think that there really was no distinct pattern to follow and if there was an Iwaszkiewicz style of union work then it was based on two principles. First, Iwaszkiewicz always wanted people with different leanings in the main administration and it was always pluralistic; it is enough to recall just a few of the names on the board. There was also the principle -- which was lifted in 1980 -- that the chairmen of the various departments had the right to vote. But we are, after all, returning to this principle. Iwaszkiewicz's second trait was the fact that he never wanted to designate anyone when he was asked to nominate someone for a ministerial or a state award, and sometimes he was self-willed and boasted to me after that saying: You know, I voted for...a musician. And so, pluralism and the disinclination to favor friends were probably the main traits of the Union of Polish Writers "in Iwaszkiewicz's time."

[Pietrasik] Now the situation is different. Can we recreate the old struture of the Union of Polish Writers?

[Auderska] We are not creating anythings new, my dear sir, aside from the fact that we want the people who agree with our new statute to join us. We believe that a writer should print his works in Poland and should not work to the determinent of his country. These are our two main demands.

[Pietrasik] It was a nice slogan, that we have one culture and therefore one literature. And what is left of it?

[Auderska] I do not remember such a slogan...

[Pietrasik] Yes, it was, after all, once said that literature is divided into the type that is written at home and the kind that is written in exile by emigres....

[Auderska] Ah yes, you mean that one is the literature of those who write in the West and the other is that of those who write here? You did not express yourself very accurately....

Sir, there is only one literature in this sense. We do not, after all, publish the books of party people alone; on the contrary, we also publish writers who belong to the opposition. We print Milosz, for example, although he is an emigre writer and even speaks out against us on various radio stations. In this sense, just as there is only one Polonia we want our contact with Polonia Poles to be greater and livelier just as much as we would like to consider the whole of the literature that is written in Polish as being one. But we must remember that it must not be an aggressive kind of literature that is very much against all the interests of the country. Books that distort the view of our reality set our young people against the PPR. We live in a certain system and we must be aware of this. Of course, we can read everything that comes out in the West but not everything is suitable, for instance, as reading material for schools. Although I must add that we are very liberal in this respect, because on our list of reading material for schools we have Andrzejewski, and many living writers who do not share our point of view.

SUPREME SOVIET DELEGATION MEETS SEJM OFFICIAL

LD162207 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Text] The delegation of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, which is visiting Poland, has been received by Kazimierz Barcikowski, who briefed the guests on the operation of the PZPR Sejm Deputies Club. The guests visited the Warynski machinery building factory in Warsaw. Talks were held at the Sejm in the afternoon chaired by Stanislaw Gucwa and Vitaliy Ruben.

Leaves for Krakow

LD171925 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Dec 83

[Text] A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by Vitaliy Ruben, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which is staying in Poland, familiarized itself with the achievements of the Kielce region over 40 years at a meeting with the sociopolitical aktiv of the Kielce Voivodship. The delegation set off for Krakow in the afternoon.

ROMANIA'S DOBRESCU MEETS WITH JARUZELSKI, OTHERS

AU162042 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Text] Warsaw (AGERPRES) 16/12/1983 -- Messages were exchanged between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, and Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the CC of the PUWP, during the visit Miu Dobrescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, paid to the Polish People's Republic over December 12-16.

The exchange of messages was occasioned by the interviews Miu Dobrescu had with Jozef Czyrek, Miroslaw Milewski and Tadeusz Porebski, members of the Political Bureau, secretaries of the CC of the PUWP, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak and Jan Glowczyk, alternate members of the Political Bureau, secretaries of the CC of the PUWP.

During the interviews, information was exchanged on the current concerns of the RCP and the PUWP in the building of socialism in the two countries as well as opinions on current international issues and on questions of the communist and working-class movement.

The Romanian guest visited economic units and sociocultural establishments in Warsaw and Katowice Voivodship.

The interviews and talks passed in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

YUGOSLAV ARMY DELEGATION ENDS VISIT 16 DEC

LD170621 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Text] Warsaw 16 Dec -- A delegation of the Yugoslav People's Army, led by assistant of the federal secretary of national [word indistinct] General Milan Daljevic, ended today its visit to this country, paid between December 12-16 at the invitation of the head of the Main Political Board of the Polish People's Army [word indistinct] minister of national defence, General Jozef Baryla.

Today, the Yugoslav delegation paid a visit to the PUWP Central Committee where they were received by member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau Tadeusz Porebski. The delegation was also received by alternate member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau, minister of national defence, General Florian Siwicki. In the course of friendly and cordial talks the delegation exchanged views with the Polish hosts on issues of interest to the two sides.

The Yugoslav People's Army also held talks at the Main Political Board of the Polish People's Army. It also visited military higher schools, military units, and met with workers of one of the Lodz factories.

SWIRGON ADDRESSES POLISH-CUBAN FRIENDSHIP RALLY

LD170958 Warsaw PAP in English 2008 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Text] Warsaw 16 Dec -- A Polish-Cuban friendship rally was held in Warsaw today to mark the approaching 25th anniversary of the victory of Cuban revolution. The rally, attended by representatives of socialist youth union associations, greeted a 150-strong Polish youth delegation which returned home following a month-long visit to Cuba at the invitation of Cuban Communist Party CC First Secretary Fidel Castro. The rally was also attended by PUWP CC Secretary Waldemar Swirgon. Present was Cuban Ambassador Quinton Pino Machado.

Participants in the rally issued a resolution condemning -- in connection with the present political situation in Latin America -- the aggressive policy of American imperialists in that region of the world. "When the Cuban revolution won 25 years ago, it became an example and hope of millions of people in Latin America," stressed the document. "The victory of the Cuban revolution, the fight in its defence and the favorable development of the republic proved that the building of socialism was a tangible goal in such difficult conditions and despite all the attacks launched by imperialism."

Also in Warsaw today, the Polish Committee of Solidarity With the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the Polish-Cuban Friendship Society arranged a symposium on "the 25th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution" where many papers were read out, describing the development of revolutionary Cuba, its place in Latin America and the present world.

PZPR'S CZYREK MEETS WITH PCP'S ALVARO CUNHAL

LD162324 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1900 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Text] Portuguese Communist Party Secretary General Alvaro Cunhal has met Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee, who is taking part in the 10th PCP Congress.

Alvaro Cunhal stated among other things that the PCP noted with great satisfaction the progress of stabilization in our country. It was also stressed at the meeting that the current international situation requires all communists to unite forces to defend the threatened peace. Jozef Czyrek passed on to Alvaro Cunhal the personal greetings of Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the party.

Addresses PCP Congress

LD180004 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 17 Dec 83

[Text] Speaking during the session of the 10th PCP Congress, Jozef Czyrek, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, said that the consolidation of the forces of peace and progress is an essential precondition for protecting humanity from the nuclear extermination being brought about by the arms race and by the intensification of conflicts and tension on all continents. Jozef Czyrek conveyed expressions of respect to the participants in the congress, as well as of support for the consistent struggle for social justice, the national interests of Portugal, democracy, and socialism.

OBODOWSKI VISITS INDIA, MEETS WITH GANDHI

LD170951 Warsaw PAP in English 2006 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Text] Delhi, 16 Dec -- Poland's Deputy Premier Janusz Obodowski, now on an official visit to India in connection with the debates of the 8th session of the Polish-Indian mixed commission, was received by India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in the House of Parliament here today.

Deputy Premier Obodowski informed Mrs Gandhi about the results of bilateral economic and trade cooperation, technological and scientific exchange, and about the course of the commission's debates. He also briefed Mrs Gandhi on socio-political situation in Poland, favourable economic results, implementaion of the economic reform and the growth of Poland's cooperation with developing countries. During the meeting the two discussed issues connected with rapid deterioration of international situation, the threat of an outbreak of thermonuclear war and current political situation in Europe and Asia. The talk was held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

The Polish-Indian mixed commission for Economic, Trade and Scientific-Technical Cooperation held its 8th session in Delhi, with Polish Deputy Prime Minister Janusz Obodowski and Indian Energy Minister Shiv Shankar co-chairing the debates. The commission evaluated the cooperation results, voicing the view that there still existed untapped possibilities in the field of Polish-Indian economic cooperation and trade. This has been already demonstrated by launching new cooperation ventures in mining, power, economy and engineering industry. The sides discussed questions linked to the production and deliveries of mining machines and equipment as well as the development and modernization of Indian collieries.

With a view to Indian demand for power installations, the Polish side has come out with many new offers. Poland is a renowned supplier of these installations to India, and power stations built with Polish assistance enjoy appreciation of experts.

Other discussed questions included cooperation in shipbuilding, including merchant and ocean going vessels, fishing boats as well as joint construction of marine equipment.

GREECE'S PAPANDREOU PAYS FRIENDSHIP VISIT

Arrives in Bucharest 17 Dec

AU171528 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1450 GMT 17 Dec 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 17/12/1983 -- The prime minister of the Hellenic Republic, Andreas Papandreou, arrived in Bucharest on Saturday, December 17, for a visit of friendship to Romania at the invitation of Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu.

The Hellenic prime minister is accompanied on his visit by Dhimitrios Maroudhas, deputy minister of the Presidency of the Government, Andonios Yeoryiadhis, deputy minister of national economy, councillors and experts.

Upon arrival at the Otopeni Airport, adorned with the state flags of the two countries, the guest was welcomed by Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania, Petru Enache, vice-president of the State Council, Gheorghe Petrescu, deputy prime minister, Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs, and other officials.

The Hellenic premier's visit to Romania is an expression of the fine relations between the two countries, based on the long-standing, traditional links between the Romanian and Hellenic peoples. At the same time, the new summit will go down as an important moment in the development of the Romanian-Hellenic relations of friendship and collaboration, contributing to the expansion of bilateral cooperation on multiple planes, as well as of cooperation for the development of relations of good neighborliness in the Balkans, for the transformation of this area into a zone of peaceful coexistence, free of nuclear weapons, for detente and peace in Europe and the world over.

Holds Talks With Ceausescu

AU181410 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2103 GMT 17 Dec 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 17/12/1983 -- Official talks started in Bucharest on December 17 between Romania's president Nicolae Ceausescu and Greek Premier Andreas Papandreou.

The Hellenic prime minister conveyed the Romanian head of state a warm salute and best wishes on behalf of the president of the Hellenic Republic, Konstandhinos Karamanlis.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and requested that a warm salute and wishes of good health be conveyed to the Hellenic head of state.

During the talks, it was considered that the Greek premier's visit to Romania was a new expression of the fine relations between Romania and Greece, of the ascending course of the traditional relations of friendship and manysided collaboration between the two peoples. Both sides expressed their belief that the new visit would contribute, through its results, to the further development of the cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Hellenic Republic on multiple planes.

The official talks occasion an in-depth, comprehensive analysis of the current stage and prospects of the collaboration between the two countries, as well as an exchange of extensive opinions on current questions of the international situation, on problems in Europe in particular.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou expressed deep concern over the extremely serious tension in current international relations which poses the danger of new conflicts and military confrontations. It was shown that that situation was an outcome of the lack of solutions to the litigious issues that have accumulated, of the emergence of new states of tension and hotbeds of war, of the shows of the policy of the use and threat of force, of the maintenance of the policy of zones of influence and interference in domestic affairs, of the widening gaps between rich and developing countries and the sharpening world economic crisis.

It was highlighted that the cardinal question of the international life in the current stage was the fight for peace, for the cessation of the arms race and of the accumulation of arms with an ever greater capacity of destruction. The Romanian president and the Hellenic premier considered that everything possible should be done for the adoption of tangible and efficient measures of disarmament, of nuclear disarmament in the first place, providing for a balance of military troops and armaments at the lowest possible level.

They showed that the European countries were being confronted with a tension which has reached its highest in the postwar period, assessing that, following the break-off of the Geneva talks between the USSR and the USA, the danger of a confrontation was closer than ever.

Both sides declared most resolutely against the siting of the medium-range missiles, against any measures apt to lead to higher tension, to growing threats to peace, and stressed that it was in the interests of all European peoples that no more nuclear weapons be deployed and the ones in place be withdrawn and scrapped, and the Geneva Soviet-U.S. talks be resumed.

Other international issues were also approached, particularly those related to the peaceful, negotiated settlement of the interstate conflicts and litigations.

Starting from the deeply negative implications of the Middle East situation for the whole international life, the importance was highlighted of intensifying political and diplomatic actions for the establishment of a global, just and durable peace, on the basis of Israel's withdrawal from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967, on the observance of the Palestinian people's rights to self-determination, to the setting up of an independent state of its own included, as well as to the guaranteed right of all states in that area to live in peace and security.

The talks passed in an atmosphere of warm friendship, of mutual esteem and understanding.

Ceausescu Hosts Dinner

AU172031 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2005 GMT 17 Dec 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 17/12/1983 -- Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu gave an official dinner on Saturday, December 17, in honor of the prime minister of the Hellenic Republic, Andreas Papandreou.

In the attendance were Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, other Romanian officials. Also present were the Hellenic officials accompanying Premier Andreas Papandreou on his visit to Romania.

During the dinner, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Premier Andreas Papandreou proposed toasts.

Talks End 18 Dec

AU181556 Bucharest AGERPES in English 1535 GMT 18 Dec 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 18/12/1983 -- Official talks concluded between Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou on December 18.

They resumed the analysis of the stage of collaboration between Romania and Greece and of the fundamental issue facing mankind at present.

The Romanian president and the Hellenic premier expressed their satisfaction at the fruitful course of the Romanian-Greek links of friendship and cooperation. Emphasis was also placed on the two countries' broad and active collaboration in international arena for a policy of collaboration, independence and peace.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Premier Andreas Papandreou expressed anxiety about the considerable worsening of the international situation especially in Europe. Both parties stressed that all states had now more than ever the duty to intensify their efforts in order to prevent the international situation from worsening, to halt the arms race, for the resumption and consolidation of the policy of detente, security and national independence, of promotion of broad cooperation favoring all nations' development and progress.

The president of Romania and the prime minister of the Hellenic Republic highlighted the importance of the Helsinki-started process to follow up and in that context of the convening of the conference on confidence-building and disarmament in the continent.

Special attention was paid to the Balkan problems. The two countries' will was expressed to deploy further efforts along with the other states in the region in order to step up the Balkan collaboration in domains of the mutual interest, for the turning of the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone of peace and collaboration. In view of attaining this major target of the Balkan peoples, emphasis was placed on the importance of calling a summit conference of the countries in the region to analyze the ways and means of strengthening the confidence and peace in the Balkans, a meeting that would bear positively on international life.

During the talks it was stressed that recent developments powerfully emphasized the need for the elimination of force and threat with force from international relations, for solving all conflicts and disputes among states only by peaceful, negotiated means.

Expressing satisfaction at the results of the talks, at the identity or similarity of the two countries' positions vis-a-vis the questions of international life, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Premier Andreas Papandreou agreed to further the Romanian-Hellenic summit consultations and to intensify the collaboration between Romania and Greece in international life. The talks proceeded in an atmosphere of warm friendship, mutual regard and understanding.

Visit Ends

AU181558 Buchares AGERPRES in English 1541 GMT 18 Dec 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 18/12/1983 -- The visit of friendship paid to Romania by Andreas Papandreou, prime minister of the Hellenic Republic, as guest of President Nicolae Ceausescu came to an end on December 18.

The guest was seen off to the Otopeni Airport by Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Petru Enache, vice-president of the State Council; Gheorghe Petrescu, deputy prime minister; Stefan Andrei; Vasile Pungan; Ioan Avram; Ion Teoreanu; by ministers and other officials.

RCP'S BOBU MEETS WITH PCE'S DOLORES IBARRURI

AU171947 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 17 Dec 83

[Text] Madrid (AGERPRES) 17/12/1983 -- Messages were exchanged between RCP General Secretary and Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and the President of the Communist Party of Spain, Dolores Ibarruri, during the latter's interview with the delegation of the Romanian Communist Party led by Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, that are attending the congress of the Communist Party of Spain.

During the talk, emphasis was placed on the importance of the development and deepening of the relations of friendship, collaboration and solidarity between the RCP and the CPS, based on mutual esteem and valuation, on full equality and respect for each party's right to independently elaborate its political line, revolutionary strategy and tactics, in accordance with the specific historical conditions in each country.

The interview passed in a warm, comradely atmosphere, in the spirit of the steady relations of friendship extant between the two parties.

RCP'S COMAN ADDRESSES PORTUGUESE CP CONGRESS

AU171935 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1842 GMT 17 Dec 83

[Text] Lisbon AGERPRES 17/12/1983 -- During the plenary session of the congress of the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, addressed the congress a message of salute on behalf of the CC of the RCP and of the general secretary of the RCP, Nicolae Ceausescu. After highlighting that the Romanian Communists follow with feelings of solidarity the activity carried on by the Portuguese Communist Party for the safeguarding and promotion of the working people's interests, for the attainment of the Portuguese people's aspirations after welfare, democracy, progress and peace, the speaker said: Romania and her president carry on intense international activity for the settlement of the complex problems facing mankind, for the building of a better and more just world, in accordance with all people's wishes and aspirations for peace,progress and civilization.

The Romanian Communist Party and Socialist Romania have always declared firmly for a halt in the deployment of new medium-range missiles in Europe, for the withdrawal and scrapping of the ones in place, the adoption of measures of military disengagement and for a passage to disarmament, to nuclear disarmament first and foremost, the RCP representative mentioned, adding: In a recent statement made by the leading party and state bodies, Romania advanced a series of proposals for the nondeployment and scrapping all intermediate-range missiles from Europe, for the improvement of the general political climate and the elimination of the danger posed to the peoples' life and peace. Everything necessary should be done now more than ever before for the resumption of the dialogue on the cessation of the arms race and the renunciation of the siting of new missiles in Europe, for the lessening of tension, the resumption of the policy of peace, detente, independent development and cooperation, and the resolution of all interstate conflicts and litigations by peaceful means and through negotiations alone.

The Romanian Communist Party -- the speaker said in conclusion -- attaches special importance to the steady consolidation of relations of collaboration with the communist, worker and socialist parties, with the progressive parties in the newly independent states, with the national liberation movements and the states, with the national liberation movements and the anti-imperialist forces everywhere, on the basis of mutual esteem and regard, of the observance of each party's right to elaborate its political line, revolutionary strategy and tactics in harmony with the specific conditions in each countries, starting from the necessity of rallying the people's efforts in the struggle for peace, disarmament, national independence and social progress.

SCINTEIA ARTICLE ON DISARMAMENT MEASURES CITED

AU171440 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1138 GMT 17 Dec 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 17/12/1983 -- In an article on the expose made by President Nicolae Ceausescu at the festive meeting on December 1 devoted to the anniversary of the foundation of the unitary Romanian national state, December 17 SCINETIA writes: President Nicolae Ceausescu focused again on the extreme seriousness of the situation emerged in the world as an outcome of the intensification of the arms race, of the escalation of nuclear arming in particular, under the pretext of striking a military balance. Stressing the peril of the continuation of this course, the fact that mankind's very life is at stake, the RCP and Romanian state leader threw into prominence the primordial prerequisite nowadays: to put a stop without delay to the arms race, the nuclear arms race first of all, to strike a balance by continuously reducing arsenals until their liquidation, the only way to avoid a devastating conflagration.

Mentioning that the arming policy was invariably "justified" through the need to maintain balance" as a groundwork for security, the paper reads: As a nuclear war would not have winners and loosers, but would mean total destruction, with unaccountable consequences for mankind as a whole, the stockpiling of nuclear weaponry is more a threat than protection and self security can no longer be an argument for arming.

Thus "arming for security" turns into the opposite and the continuous seeking of an illusory military balance at ever higher levels becomes the principal source of weakening security.

The balance of "nuclear discouragement" as a "method" to maintain peace makes the international perspective ever darker and threatening, as such a course results in suspicion, distrust and political destabilization. In turn, all this stimulates the escalation of arming, feeding distrust and the question turns into the same vicious circle.

All these aspects throw light on the inefficiency, peril and immorality of the policy of striking a military balance by means of arming, SCINTEIA writes, showing that the RCP and the Romanian state do not deny the need for a military balance in maintaining peace. But as President Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized, such a balance should not be struck at ever higher levels, but, on the contrary, at ever lower levels of weaponry.

On the strength of the axiomatic truth that the danger of war mounts when weapons multiply, we infer that the peril will lessen as warfare means diminish.

To strike a balance in this way it is not only necessary but also fully possible, without placing in jeopardy the security of either side. To surpass the extremely serious situation created by the application of the plans of locating medium-range missiles in Europe is eventually linked with the option of reducing nuclear arsenals.

Referring to this aspects, Romania's president showed, with good reason, that should the United States give up the emplacement of new missiles, no disbalance of forces would result between the two sides. Likewise, should the Soviet Union withdraw and even scrap the totality of medium-range missiles no disbalance of forces would result either, given the fact that even without these missiles the two sides posses atomic means apt to destroy mankind several times over. This would be in Romania's opinion, only the first step, and then, after the cessation of the emplacement of new missiles, nuclear weaponry, weaponry in general, ought to be reduced and a miltiary balance should be stricken at ever lower levels, SCINTEIA writes in conclusion.

CEAUSESCU SPEAKS AT WORKING PEOPLE'S PLENUM

AU151316 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Dec 83 pp 1, 3

[Speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu at the plenary session of the Working People's National Council, held in Bucharest 13 December 1983]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: The plenary session of the Working People's National Council has discussed and endorsed the 1984 plan and budget, the programs on continuously developing our socialist society, on more markedly increasing labor productivity, improving the technical level, and on self-management.

The unanimous adoption of those documents means that all the members of the National Council have pledged to act with all their might to implement them under most favorable conditions.

We have clear prospects; we have a plan and clear programs for our activity next year and the years to come. What is decisive now is to proceed to implementing them. It is necessary to act with great determination -- during the few days before the end of this year -- to fulfill this year's plan under most favorable conditions and to prepare the 1984 plan in such a manner that, beginning with the first day of the new year, smooth activity is ensured and that failings, which unfortunately have still persisted this year, will be avoided.

Being familiar with the plan, the budget, and the programs for all fields, it is necessary for us to draw up concrete organizational and technical measures to implement them. The plan and programs have been discussed by the general meetings, and this is a positive thing because all the collectives of working people know what they are supposed to do, know what their tasks are and therefore are able to consciously act to fulfill the provisions established for all areas under most favorable conditions.

I would like to stress that the implementation of the plan and programs is of great importance for implementing the targets set forth by the 12th party congress regarding proceeding to a new development stage, to achieving a new labor quality and quality of living in all fields of activity.

As the plan for the socioeconomic development shows, we have to continue to pay particular attention to energy and raw material problems. The Working People's National Council discussed what measures have to be taken in its plenary session and in sections in order to fulfill the energy production plan under favorable conditions, to cut back on consumption, and to economize in all areas. One can state that through proper management in all sectors -- beginning with the production sector -- we could achieve an important surplus of electrical power, even at the current energy level.

You have heard here what the possibilities are -- only in a few sectors -- to cut back on consumption by applying new technological procedures, and certain procedures that are already being applied and therefore are not new for you. However, this requires a sense of responsibility for the general interests of all our people; it requires tangible measures to apply the known technologies in practice. We do not have to invent anything new in order to observe the consumptions established!

However, I do not want you to understand that this is where we should stop. Along with the application of measures to cut back on consumption and to economize, we shall have to intensify research work to draw up new technologies, to seek new ways and means for cutting back on energy and fuel consumption in general. I am not only referring to electrical power and thermal energy, but also to the primary energy consumed in technology, especially in petrochemistry.

It is necessary for us to take determined action to continue to develop the raw material base, to cut back on consumption in conformity with the programs we have worked out, and to recoup and reuse materials and subassemblies. As I mentioned at the Central Committee plenum, through recovering and reusing materials in many sectors we have to cover our raw material requirements 50 percent or even more. Thus, the problem of recovering and reusing materials, subassemblies and parts is a problem of great importance for the progress of our overall activity -- and this means billions of dollars, millions and millions of tons of raw materials which we would have to import if we could not recover and reuse materials.

It is necessary for us to take firm action to implement the programs on modernizing the production process and reducing the weight of products, so as to be up to the world level and to be able to compete in the international market. Reducing product weight and achieving the planned parameters, taking tangible measures for redesigning and manufacturing new and lighter products in all sectors is a problem of great significance both for being able to compete at an international level and to ensure the material cutbacks we have talked about.

Generally speaking, we must pay appropriate attention to implementing the provisions of the program we have adopted regarding the quality and technical level of our production. Today in the international market, Romanian products have to compete with similar products from scores of states, and buyers choose those products they think are better from a qualitative, technical, and esthetic viewpoint and, of course, from the viewpoint of price.

We must see to it that Romanian products -- to put it this way -- keep their chin up, that they are not ashamed of being manufactured in Romania; on the contrary, they should be able to keep their chin up and say: "Well, here are the products manufactured by workers, the socialist builders in Romania who know they are the owners and producers and that they work for themselves; they are determined to produce highly tecnnical and quality products." (loud, prolonged applause)

Esteemed comrades, it is necessary for us to concern ourselves very seriously with increasing labor productivity. In practice we are lagging behind with labor productivity in all sectors -- in certain sectors even twofold or even more. Therefore, it is necessary to take serious measures to ensure a forceful increase in labor productivity through mechanization, automation, and improving the worker's level of training, but also through better organizing work, the production process, the production flow, and by strengthening order and discipline in the production process.

We cannot be satisfied with the labor productivity achieved this year. It is difficult to believe that a 4 percent increase in the labor productivity in machine-building is good; on the contrary, it is much below what we have to achieve. This is true for other areas as well. We have to understand that in order to be able to compete at a world level from the point of view of economic efficiency, we must achieve better labor productivity. You know that the requirements of socialism presuppose that we have to achieve productivity at least to that achieved in the most developed capitalist countries. However, in order to build the comprehensively developed socialist society, it is necessary to achieve better productivity! It is in this direction that we have to act, and the program we have unanimously adopted proceeds from this as well!

Determined measures are necessary to strengthen discipline and order, to properly manage material and financial means, and to increase the profitability and efficiency of our overall activity.

I would like to draw attention to the fact that our financial and banking bodies and the Ministry of Finance are not taking very responsible action, are not fulfilling their tasks as they should, and are not implementing the law provisions, namely to turn the financial system, the money control body, into a decisive lever for the proper progress of our activity and for increasing efficiency and profitability. This constitutes the sure road to increasing our national wealth and the national income and to ensure, on this basis, the country's general development and improve the people's material and cultural living standard! (loud applause)

It is necessary to apply with great determination the provisions of the new economic mechanism and the measures established for this year which came into force in September-October. Unfortunately, in this respect, too, we are very slow. We must understand that the provisions of the economic mechanism, perfecting the economic leadership activity, increasing the working people's material incentive, profit sharing, and introducing the new remuneration system -- by eliminating the limitation of incomes, but also limiting guaranteed pay -- means to better apply the remuneration principles in the spirit of socialism and in keeping with the work and activity performed by each individual. We ensure an unlimited possibility for each working man, for each worker, technician, and engineer to earn unlimited wages as a result of increased production; on the other hand, however, we favour unlimited cutbacks in wages in keeping with the nonfulfillment of tasks devolving on each working man under the plan provisions.

We must take the necessary measures so that all these principles of the socialist economic mechanism are known and applied in practice in all areas.

Esteemed comrades, once again I want to draw particular attention to exports. Yesterday I stressed -- and the comrades who were not at the meeting were able to read about it in SCINTEIA and the other newspapers -- that we are obligated to import a great deal. Actually, it is not for the first time that I have spoken about this. We have to have the necessary funds to import things, we must have the possibility to pay the foreign debts we made in the preceding year when we imported too much, consumed too much, and did not firmly apply the decisions aimed at limiting consumption and imports to essentials.

We must by all means fulfill the export plan in all sectors under favorable conditions. This presupposes that we must ensure the production of highly technical and quality products, a better use of raw materials and labor force. With the current material base and by manufacturing quality products we will be able to increase the value of exported products by at least 50 percent, that is to cash 50 percent more hard currency than we do now while better using the same quality of raw materials. We should proceed from this!

As a matter of fact, the program on the better use of things and on economic efficiency -- which is being worked out at this point -- very seriously deals with this problem. We have great and even very great possibilities in all sectors, and we must act with great responsibility in this direction.

It is necessary for us to pay greater attention to exports in convertible currencies and we also must do all we can to fulfill the plan on quality exports to socialist countries under favorable conditions and on schedule; we must strengthen cooperation and collaboration with the socialist CEMA member-countries, with all the other socialist countries, this being of great importance for the general development of our socialist economy. At the same time -- I want to repeat -- we must develop broad relations with the developing countries and with the developed capitalist countries, and we must actively participate in the international division of labor.

We have all necessary conditions available so that the export provisions are not only fulfilled, but even overfulfilled, and we must act with great determination in this direction beginning with the first month of next year! The fulfillment of all the tasks devolving upon us in foreign trade requires an improvement in the activity of all bodies and of the foreign trade enterprises. Actually, all ministries perform trade activity. It is particularly necessary for the Ministry of Foreign Trade, that of finance, and for the other bodies to pay greater attention to and constantly follow the fulfillment of the foreign trade plan in all sectors under favorable conditions.

On the basis of the decisions of the June Central Committee plenum and in the spirit of the decisions of the national conference in September, we began increasing the wages of all categories of working people. Next year we have to conclude the wage increase in all sectors. However, we have to understand that by adopting these measures we proceeded from the need to resolutely implement the provisions aimed at cutting back consumption and at increasing economic efficiency. We will apply those measures under favorable conditions, and we will ensure a 5 percent real increase in wages only if costs are cut back; we will ensure an increase in net production, increase the national income more forcefully, and keep production costs and consumer goods prices under control. As a matter of fact, next year's plan envisages no price increases, in terms of production costs or consumer goods prices. It is therefore necessary for us to take measures to implement those provisions under most favorable conditions.

We are taking these measures aimed at increasing wages and the incomes of the working people at a time when in many countries general incomes and the real remuneration of working people are being reduced. The fact that our socialist society is able to adopt such measures under the current circumstances demonstrates the force and strength of our society, our trust in the creative energy of our workers class and of our people who will act to fulfill the plan provisions under favorable conditions and thus enable us to implement the decisions of the 12th party congress and of the national conference appropriately, to raise our fatherland onto a higher level of well-being and civilization, and to create the necessary conditions for a more rapid progress of the Romanian socialist society. (loud applause)

Esteemed comrades, all this requires the further improvement of our leadership at all levels, an increased responsibility by the management councils in ministries and by centrals, an increased responsibility by management councils in enterprises and by the general meetings -- as supreme bodies of the working people -- which are the most telling expression of the revolutionary workers democracy in Romania and a guarantee of the direct participation by all working people, irrespective of nationality, in the management of the various sectors and of the overall society.

We must well understand that the fully responsible activity and participation by the general meetings and the working people's councils in the management work is a compulsory requirement for real democracy and for the successful development of socialism in Romania. We must forcefully develop the revolutionary workers democracy! Each working man must participate with all his might and responsibility in resolving problems and in the leadership of all sectors! (loud, prolonged applause)

In this spirit it is necessary for the Working People's National Council and for its Executive Bureau to act with greater determination and to better follow the way in which the collective leadership bodies and the general meetings are fulfilling their tasks in order to thus ensure the proper progress of the overall activity. I want to particularly mention the need for the Executive Bureau to pay greater attention to and to check, first and foremost, the manner in which the management councils of ministries are carrying out their activity and if they are solving the problems of great importance entrusted to them competently, upon schedule, and with a sense of responsibility.

All this requires an increased spirit of responsibility, from top to bottom and from bottom to top, and both as concerns collective responsibility and the personal responsibility of each individual at his work place.

Once again I would like to draw attention to the fact that collective responsibility, the proper operation of our socialist democracy bodies is a decisive factor for the unfolding of the overall activity. Therefore, we must pay great attention to the proper operation of all socialist democracy bodies! However, at the same time, it is necessary for us to blend collective responsibility with the personal responsibility of each one at his work place. Collective responsibility does not relieve any one of the responsibility he has toward the collective bodies, toward higher bodies, and toward the party and people in order to properly fulfill his tasks. We must harmoniously blend collective responsibility with individual responsibility, with strengthening discipline and order in all sectors, and with more firmly eliminating signs of bureaucracy which, unfortunately, still persist in various fields. Let us substantially cut back on paperwork that is "fabricated" to a great extent, because this both consumes time and paper and hinders people from pursuing their practical, productive activity. Let us "produce" less paperwork and let us take direct action in enterprises and in practice to resolve problems!

Many things have to be done in this respect. We are considering certain measures. It is necessary for all our leadership bodies and for the Working People's National Council to take firm action to improve the overall activity, to eliminate bureaucracy from the activity of all our bodies, from top to bottom. We must be fully aware that bureaucracy becomes a hindrance and a very dangerous enemy of socialist construction and of fulfilling the socioeconomic development plans under favorable conditions. Thus we must declare war on bureaucracy and bureaucrats! (loud applause)

Thus it is necessary for us to draw all necessary conclusions from the activity carried out thus far and from the shortcomings that have existed this year and which have been discussed to a greater and lesser extent within sections and at the plenum. Let us examine thoroughly the proposals and suggestions made and let us deal with all of them by clarifying why some of them have not been accepted. In any case, we have to realize that it is necessary to firmly proceed to implementing everything we have established and all the decisions that have been unanimously adopted at today's meeting.

I am fully convinced that all the members of the Working People's National Council will very firmly act in practice in the sectors in which they work to fulfill this year's plan under most favorable conditions and to implement the plan and programs for 1984 and for the years to come.

Let us act so as to meet the 40th anniversary of the revolution for anti-imperialist, antifascist, social and national liberation and the 13th party congress with the best possible results in all sectors! In actual fact, we should propose not only to fulfill but to overfulfill the plan provisions! Thus we will suitably meet these important events in the history of our people and fatherland!

I am fully convinced that all working people, irrespective of nationality, and all our people will act with great determination to implement these lofty targets which will ensure the fulfillment of the party program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society, on the advance toward communism, on the fatherland's constant flourishing, on improving the people's well-being, and strengthening Romania's independence and sovereignty! (loud, prolonged applause)

With this conviction, I declare the proceedings of the Working People's National Council closed. I wish you, all working people, and all our people increasingly greater successes in all areas and much good health and happiness! (applause, prolonged cheers; chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!" In an atmosphere of great enthusiasm and strong unity, all those present in the hall stand up and give long ovations to the RCP and its secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu)

BRIEFS

NEW ENVOY TO INDIA -- New Delhi, (AGERPRES) 21/11/1983 -- An exchange of messages of friendship between Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, and Zail Singh, president of India, took place when the latter received Romania's ambassador in New Delhi, Nicolae Finantu, who presented his credentials [Summary] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1915 GMT 21 Nov 83 AU]

RCP ACTIVISTS IN USSR -- A delegation of RCP activists led by Pavel Aron, RCP Central Committee member and first secretary of the Arad County party committee, visited the Soviet Union for an exchange of experiences. The delegation conducted talks at the economic section of the CPSU Central Committee, the State Committee for Material-Technical Supply, the State Planning Committee, and Volgograd Oblast CPSU Committee. It also visited economic enterprises and scientific research institutes. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Nove 82 p 6 AU]

MSZMP ANNIVERSARY MARKED -- On the 65th anniversary of the creation of the MSZMP, the ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic, Miklos Barity, on 22 November organized a movie show at the Hungarian Embassy. Nicolae Mihai and Stan Soare, deputy section chiefs at the RCP Central Committee; Maria Groza, deputy minister of foreign affairs; party and state activists; representatives of mass and civic organizations; men of art and culture; and journalists attended the event. [Summary] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Nov 83 p 5 AU]

ELENA CEAUSESCU BOOK PUBLISHED -- The Chemical Publishing House of Moscow published Comrade Elena Ceausescu's book "New Research in the Field of Macromolecular Compounds." During an official ceremony organized on this occasion, various Romanian and Soviet scientists pointed out the great merits of this book as well as Comrade Elena Ceausescu's outstanding role as a scientist and politician. [Text] [Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT Nov 83 AU]

FRENCH PRESIDENT MITTERRAND BEGINS 3-DAY VISIT

Arrival in Belgrade Reported

LD151217 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1024 GMT 15 Dec 83

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 15 Dec (TANJUG) -- Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic, arrived this morning on an official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia. At Belgrade airport in Surcin the high-ranking guest from friendly France was met and welcomed by Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, and other prominent personalities in sociopolitical life.

After leaving the aircraft, President Mitterrand cordially greeted his host, President Spiljak. The French head of state was then immediately welcomed by the other Yugoslav personages attending the formal welcome at Belgrade airport: Vojo Srzentic, president of the SFRY Assembly; Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council; Nikola Ljubicic, president of the Serbian Presidency; Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Jovan Dejanovic, president of the SAWPY Federal Conference; Admiral Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense; Ljubo Ilic, member of the Council of the Federation; Bogdan Bogdanovic, president of the Belgrade City Assembly; and other personalities.

Also present at the welcome were: Dusan Popovski, SFRY ambassador to France; and Jacques Dupuy, French ambassador to Yugoslavia.

The following arrived with President Mitterrand in Belgrade: Claude Cheysson, head of French diplomacy; Jacques Delors, minister of economy and finance; Charles Fiterman, minister of state for transportation; Edith Cresson, minister for foreign trade; Jean-Louis Bianco, general secretary of the Presidency of the Republic; Edmond Garcion, deputy, and chairman of the France-Yugoslavia Association in the National Assembly; and others.

Welcomed by Spiljak, Others

LD151116 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1014 GMT 15 Dec 83

[Text] Belgrade, December 15 (TANJUG) -- A formal welcome with military honours in Belgrade this morning, Thursday, marked the beginning of French President Francois Mitterrand's three-day visit to Yugoslavia. Mitterrand was welcomed at Belgrade Airport by his host, Yugoslav Presidency President Mika Spiljak, Premier Milka Planinc, president of the Assembly of Yugoslavia Vojo Srzentic and other prominent figures.

The first round of the top-level Yugoslav-French talks on bilateral and international issues will be held this afternoon. Spiljak and Mitterrand will discuss the situation in Europe, crisis spots in the world, the economic situation, and endeavours for the renewal of detente.

In Belgrade, President Mitterrand will also meet with Premier Milka Planinc and President of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Dragoslav Markovic. He is also scheduled to address the delegates of both chambers of the Federal Assembly.

The French president will also visit Novo Mesto and Ljubljana in Slovenia and have talks with top leaders of this Yugoslav Republic.

On arrival President Mitterrand, accompanied by his host Mika Spiljak, drove to the Dedinje Palace, the official residence of the French president during his stay here. Later, President Mitterrand laid a wreath on the Tomb of Unknown Hero on Mount Avala, about 16 km from Belgrade, and a bouquet of flowers on the tomb of President Tito at the Josip Broz Tito Memorial Centre.

This evening Mika Spiljak will give a state dinner in honour of Francois Mitterrand at which toasts will be exchanged by him and the French president.

Spiljak Hosts Dinner

LD161017 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2142 GMT 15 Dec 83

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 15 Dec (TANJUG) -- Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, gave a formal dinner in honor of Francois Mitterrand, president of the Republic of France, in the Palace of the Federation this evening.

During the dinner, which passed in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere, the host and his guest exchanged toasts. As guests at the dinner there were representatives of the sociopolitical, economic, and cultural life of Yugoslavia, and members of the French president's party. Addressing his guest, Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, said inter alia in his toast:

"Mr President, this is not your first meeting, either with Yugoslavia or with our people. You have already had occasion to see that we Yugoslavs cherish special feelings of friendship and closeness toward the French people and your country. I would like to assure you that we have such feelings for you, too, as a statesman who we highly esteem. Yugoslav-French relations have a long tradition. They are the work of many generations of your people and ours. Many generations in our countries are imbued with the common ideals and experiences of the struggle for freedom and independence. We were together in both world wars. Throughout history we have often been brought close to France, and our people have found inexhaustible inspiration in the rich treasure trove of French culture. These achievements are also our great mutual commitment. We must constantly consolidate and enrich them with new content; the more so, because in them are contained the preconditions for mutual understanding and trust as the basis of any mutually useful cooperation. We see in this, as in the utmost openness of our two countries toward peaceful coexistence and constructive cooperation in the world, important perspectives for future Yugoslav-French relations.

Bilateral cooperation, particularly economic cooperation, is an important factor in these strivings. However, the results must be more in keeping with the possibilities and the needs of your country and ours. This means that exchange should be raised to a higher level, that we would be bolder in developing all forms of economic cooperation, particularly in the area of joint investments and cooperation on third markets. In other words, it is our desire, and I believe it is a common desire, that Yugoslav-French cooperation should be strengthened on the most equitable basis to our mutual advantage. In the difficulties which our economy is facing at present, Mr President, we highly value understanding and support of your government for our measures of economic stabilization.

It is my pleasure to stress here that our mutual cultural-educational and scientific cooperation is rich in content and broad in circulation, and there are great potentials for its further development. All this serves to further acquaint our peoples with one another and draw them together. To this end, a direct contribution is made by Yugoslavs who are temporarily living and working in your country, and also by the numerous French tourists in Yugoslavia.

The policy of socialist and nonaligned Yugoslavia is the same as that followed under President Tito. Relations with your friendly country bear witness to the fruits of such policy. Yugoslavia and France can serve as an example of how differences in internal and international directions of countries are no barrier to cooperation in the interests of peace, stability, and general progress in the world. These goals express the coinciding efforts of our countries. Hence, too, the common belief in the indivisibility of the world and the common responsibility for its fate.

The question of responsibility is treated in different ways in the world today. However, the fact remains that relations in the world are becoming more deeply polarized, with the enormous burdens of crises and unresolved problems. Deep mistrust is prevalent among the greatest powers. The arms race has assumed new frightened proportions.

When ominous threats, lack of understanding and weapons drown the voice of reason, the feeling of uncertainty grows and increasingly threatens the inviolable rights of nations to freedom and independence. Then the victims are, above all, the small and underdeveloped countries. There are too many examples in the world of rights not being respected and being trampled with impunity, and of the principles of peaceful coexistence, which should be valid among all countries and without which there cannot be the much needed equality and stability in the world, being brought into question.

This is particularly felt on our continent, which is divided in so many ways. There is an increase in the mutual mistrust in Europe, which is already fraught with the confrontation between the blocs. This is why the forthcoming Stockholm conference on confidence building measures, security, and disarmament is all the more important. We expect of this gathering, in the present situation, that it will go even further than its original goal, contributing to the revival of dialogue, negotiation, and cooperation in Europe and further afield. We believe that Europe, by implementing the Helsinki Final Act, could contribute more to reducing the existing divisions.

We are following with close attention and recognition the efforts which you, Mr President, and your country are investing toward resolving some of the important international problems, particularly in North-South relations. Today some of the most developed countries refuse to show greater understanding for the critical position of many developing countries and to provide essential help for their recovery and more rapid development. We attach great importance to the renewal of global negotiations on development within the UN framework and to the realization of all useful initiatives which lead toward it. These are also the preconditions for avoiding even more dangerous disturbances in the world and for guaranteeing the stability of international relations.

The nonaligned countries to which Yugoslavia belongs indicated at the sventh summit in New Delhi the directions for a way out of the present crisis situation. They adopted the relevant decisions which guide their activity on the international level, particularly in the United Nations. We highly valued your personal presence, Mr President, at the meeting of heads of state or government held recently in New York. We hope that the dialogue that was initiated there will be continued because the paths toward a way out of the present international crisis can only be opened up by means of broadest activity.

In your visit we see a powerful confirmation that our readiness is mutual when it comes to further consolidating the friendship between us, and our cooperation in realizing the goals of bilateral and international relations. I am sure that our talks will add precise content to this readiness.

Talks Begin 15 Dec

LD152222 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1843 GMT 15 Dec 83

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Dec (TANJUG) -- Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, and French President Francois Mitterrand, who arrived in Belgrade this morning on a 3-day friendly and official visit to Yugoslavia, held talks today lasting almost 2 and 1/2 hours. They expressed their interest in further developing cooperation between the two countries in all areas.

During the first part of the official talks in the Palace of the Federation, which took place in private for 1 and 1/2 hours, problems of the current international situation were discussed. Official sources emphasized that President Mitterrand and President of the SFRY Presidency Spiljak had similar views on key issues of the development of relations on the world scene. They assessed that the situation is worse than in the former period and that it is extremely complicated.

Speaking about French foreign policy, President Mitterrand attached great importance to the Nonaligned Movement, characterizing it as an "important international factor" and expressing the desire and readiness of his government to cooperate with the nonaligned countries -- "whose voice is being heard".

The head of the French delegation stressed in particular that it is good that the nonaligned countries exist and that in their political orientation they avoid being "dependent on the great power blocs".

As was emphasized following today's talks, President of the SFRY Presidency Spiljak and President Mitterrand of France came out in favor of a policy of renewing detente on the world stage.

The esteemed guest came out in favor of renewing negotiations on Euromissiles and intensifying the talks on strategic missiles and conventional weapons. Emphasizing that his country -- although a member of NATO -- conducts an independent foreign policy, Mitterrand said France is prepared to take part in these talks. In this context he noted the importance of the forthcoming conference in Stockholm.

During this exchange of views, President of the SFRY Presidency Mika Spiljak particularly stressed, as sources in the Yugoslav delegation point out, that our country will continue the policy of President Josip Broz Tito, the strengthening of independence, the policy of nonalignment, and the development of workers' self-management.

Mika Spiljak said the SFRY wishes to contribute to overcoming the present difficult international crisis, and added that in their views on these problems Yugoslavia and France have "several points of contact". He spoke of the initiatives of the Seventh Nonaligned Summit in Delhi and recalled that France and Yugoslavia, at the meeting of heads of state or government during the UN General Assembly session in New York, both came out in favor of promoting "North-South" dialogue and seeking solutions to the problems of international economic relations through negotiations and not through confrontation and tension.

Spiljak went on to emphasize that Yugoslavia supports initiatives for the involvement of all countries of the world in resolving world crises and that this should not be done through a dialogue between the great powers alone.

The president of the SFRY Presidency stressed that Yugoslavia supports initiatives for creating a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans and in Europe.

The competent ministers of the two governments, primarily the ministers for foreign affairs, Lazar Mojsov and Claude Cheysson, will continue to examine a series of questions concerning relations between the two countries tomorrow.

However, President Mitterrand has already said today that France wishes to achieve the "broadest cooperation" with Yugoslavia. He added that France considers Yugoslavia's experience as "very important and unique", particularly regarding self-management and the development of the social system.

Tomorrow afternoon talks between Presidents Mitterrand and Spiljak will end with a meeting in the White Palace. As announced, the main themes of tomorrow's talks will be relations between the two countries in all areas.

Addresses Assembly Joint Session

LD162303 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Coratian 1130 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 16 Dec (TANJUG) -- Opening the sixth joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, Vojo Srzentic informed the delegates with particular pleasure that the session was being attended by Francois Mitterrand, president of the Republic of France, whom he had invited on behalf of the Assembly to be a guest of the SFRY Assembly within the framework of his official visit to our country.

Turning to President Mitterrand, Vojo Srzentic said:

"It is my honor and great pleasure to welcome you in the name of the delegates of the SFRY Assembly, and on my own behalf, as the most prominent representative of the friendly Republic of France. Our two countries are connected by numerous links and fruitful cooperation based on common interests and kindred aspirations and principles which guide them in their activities at the international level. The contemporary world is burdened by the rivalry of the great powers, the arms race which is unfolding particularly here in Europe, increasingly numerous centers of conflict, and the breakdown in the North-South dialogue, which is hindering the emergence of the world economy from its deep structural crisis -- all of which is leading to a serious crisis in international relations and is hampering the progress of mankind as a whole. In this [words indistinct], Yugoslavia and France, which have such close approaches to the resolution of individual international problems, are pursuing the path of constant dialogue and mutual cooperation. In greeting you, therefore, as the president of France, we are also greeting, through you, the friendly French nation.

"We must continue this tradition, enriching it with new achievements in mutual relations. Yugoslav-French cooperation, particularly in recent years, has become richer and more varied. This was also the assessment of this year's bilateral meeting of parliamentarians in Paris when the determination of the two assemblies was reaffirmed to encourage the development of cooperation in all areas on both sides. We are firmly convinced, esteemed Mr President, that your present visit to Yugoslavia will be a fresh contribution to the expansion of cooperation and the strengthening of our friendly relations."

President Mitterrand then made a speech, in which he said, among other things:

"What shall I start with? This speech to you, the representatives of the peoples of Yugoslavia, will perhaps be only a formal expose. However, to me this speech will mean much more than that -- in the first place it will represent the extolling of an old friendship. Though I have said this to the hosts of my visit, your leaders, it should nevertheless be recalled on every occasion that history has brought France and Yugoslavia together, that we have lived together, that we have together survived the greatest dramas of our century. For some of us the present generation is the generation which came out of resistance -- resistance against the enemy. With the passage of time, everything that has taken place in your country has had a special reverbation in the ears of the French people. I truly do not know what kind of privileged relation this is, what this joint sensitivity, joint spirit, and joint stance are -- a certain strength, a strength that gives the homeland love and marks our two peoples.

"We in France, I repeat, are very sensitive to what is happening in your country. It is with great attention that we follow your efforts, your work, your endeavors, the originality of your experiences and your political, economic, and social actions.

We consider this to be one of the powerful expressions of everything accomplished during this century, accomplished in the life of a people.

"I would like to talk briefly about two subjects. They are themes of our everyday life, themes on which our future depends -- the crisis and the security.

"Many experts have analyzed the causes of the crisis. Let us put it into simple terms. Following the two world wars, there has been an exceptional manifestation of the spirit, of scientific discoveries and of technical application of these discoveries. However, the world is now suffering because it is not able to adapt to its own progress; the world suffers from disorder, it suffers from the differences existing between the rich and the poor, which are constantly increasing, and it suffers from an inability to adapt to its own development and progress, as if the human spirit cannot simultaneously grasp the theory and the secrets of the trend to invent, to find something new. Nevertheless, man refuges to follow the path of this spirit.

"In many countries, this slowness, and even inability, has arisen due to severe demands by privileged classes which have become accustomed to living by disposing of the production of others and which do not want change. In the explanation of inflation and unemployment we will find many elements that will lead us to the explanation which all of us know -- that what is at stake is the class struggle.

"International institutions do not receive the consent of the most powerful countries. There is no longer any monetary order in the world. I believe that markets must remain free, but this freedom should not be the freedom of the jungle, not the right of the stronger. To this is also added the gap between the development of the rich and the development of the poor.

"My view is that there is no economic sector which is in crisis, but that there are enterprises which have been unable to adapt to new conditions. On the other hand, the crisis certainly increases the risk of lack of security. Every country which is affected by crisis has the tendency of isolating itself. It is a strange paradox that at this point in time when everybody speaks of development, the arms race is preventing this development.

Man has the right to sacrifice some elements of his sovereignty but even when this is done it is done in a sovereign manner. France has always looked for international institutions that are capable of organizing the world, of preserving peace, of realizing the demands for disarmament and for collective security, of arbitrating: the League of Nations, the United Nations and all institutions stemming from them.

France is one of the five countries in the world having its own nuclear weapons, and enough of them. We have from the very beginning declared that our security is essentially based on our people's ability to extend resistance. There are arms which could deter every possible aggressor, and this is sufficient defense force, the use of which would inflict so much damage that no single aggression could find justification. This nuclear force of ours is autonomous, though we belong to an alliance to which we are loyal.

But, within the framework of this alliance, France has a special status, and in particular in the sphere of its nuclear arms. Frances does not belong to NATO's integrated command. France's main force, the nuclear force, depends only on the decision of the head of the French state. At no point in time can it depend on some collective decision. How could one imagine that France's nuclear force would have any aim other than defense, than to deter the enemy from aggression?

The United States of America has some 9,000 nuclear warheads, the Soviet Union has also about 9,000 nuclear bombs [bomba] while France has 98 and Britain 64. How can one compare what is really incomparable? Eighty French nuclear bombs are on submarines. At the time we were glad that the two greatest powers in the world started disarmament negotiations, both in Vienna and in Geneva. We shall continue to urge, encourage and propose the prolongation and continuation of the negotiations that were broken off recently. We shall constantly reiterate that no one from either side can have a monopoly on a force capable of destroying the other. This evolution must go hand in hand with the desire for equilibrium between powers, but at the lowest possible level. We have never been in favor of excessive armament. We have always said, disarm, and when the first missiles were installed in Europe, I told the French Parliament, stop, do not deploy either Pershing IIs or S-20 [as received] missiles, since a strategic balance already exists. If this balance is disrupted, mutual destruction could result.

In the present situation, however, one begins to wonder whether there is any desire for nuclear balance. I am of the opinion that one must eradicate entirely any tendency toward further armament, for this is turning into a mad race which is dangerous for peace. This arming is simultaneously destroying the economy, peace, and security, for this is all linked.

The nuclear balance must be achieved at the lowest possible level. The United States and the USSR must be aware of their responsibility to the world.

I do not know why they drew France into their debate. We quite simply refuse to hand over the French nuclear weapon to the Soviets and the Americans.

The decisions adopted in Madrid, which will enable us to meet in Stockholm next month, and in which the neutral and nonaligned countries play an exceptionally great role, remain a genuinely tangible hope. In Stockholm there will be the opportunity for countries of the two blocs, and for other countries even more so, to put forward their arguments for confidence and security measures to be defined and for a start to be made on disarmament.

France will spare no efforts to help, in accordance with its possibilities, to re-establish a dialogue whever it should be continued. France is the enemy of no country. France likewise is well acquainted with its own history and knows what it owes to the great Russian people. Due to misunderstandings, which could have been avoided, there were not often adverse interests between us. [as received], while what we went through when I was 20 years old is the accomplishment of today's freedom. We know that we owe that freedom to the Russian people, among others. France maintains this traditional friendship and considers that it can be continued only through sincereity and pride.

We know what we must accept, maintain and develop for the sake of peace in the world, namely dialogue between the Soviet Union and France. We know what we must reject in the interest of Europe. We are available, we are members of the Atlantic alliance, we are masters of our own decisions in the sphere of nuclear weapons, but we are also true to our own history and to the history of our alliances on the European Continent. I wanted to tell the delegates and members of the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia that we follow attentively all that they do, that we are not indifferent and that we consider that communication and meetings between us should be multiplied, so that the geographical distance, differences in languages and the worries afflicting both our peoples should not lead to misunderstandings between us nor to a lack of mutual knowledge. I suggest that we increase exchange, (?direct) relations and personal relations. This is what I should like to do on the occasion of this visit by the president of the French Republic to Yugoslavia.

"From the first day of my stay in Yugoslavia I met with interest in such exchange and such links, on the part of your top-ranking leaders. We will depart tomorrow with the feeling that we have strengthened our friendship, and secured an increase in all the links between us. We will help one another in the best sense of the word, so that together we will be able to resolve many international problems affecting the fate of the world, and our fate as well. It is therefore a great joy and a great honor for me to be here with you this morning.

"I am thinking in particular of the element of cooperation in culture, the economy and trade, and in the sphere of the armed forces, security, and in all aspects of life.

"Permit me to say that I virtually feel at home here with you. I do not exaggerate. It is very nice in Yugoslavia, we feel free. This is why, in spite of difficulties with regard to language, there is a common patina of culture, popular culture, the culture of those who lived in past generations.

"Mr President, we have a few hours left and we should like to use that time to deepen the talks, which we shall never forget, for these were talks about our centuries-old friendship. We will discuss how we can bridge this crisis, how we can promote expansion of our culture and how we can strengthen security in the world."

Holds Talks With Markovic

LD162124 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1706 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Dec (TANJUG) -- Dragoslav Markovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, met today with French President Francois Mitterrand, who is paying an official visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency. The talks, held in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding, which characterizes the relations between the two countries, dealt with some issues in the sphere of international relations. Dragoslav Markovic and Francois Mitterrand stressed their concern about the exacerbated world situation, which stems from the intensified rivalry between great powers and blocs, the arms race and the growing gap between developed and developing countries. They noted that lack of political will for negotiations on crucial problems of the world today; disarmament and development deprives mankind of the possibility to build a better, more just, and more humane world. They advocated the intensified commitment of all countries and progressive and democratic forces in the struggle for peace, security, cooperation, and development.

Dragoslav Markovic spoke of the main characteristics of the socioeconomic and political situation in Yugoslavia and he stressed that the further development of the system of socialist self-management represented the basic prerequisite for the implementation of the economic stabilization program. Dragoslav Markovic and Francois Mitterrand expressed satisfaction over the successful development of Yugoslav-French relations and pointed out the need for further promoting and deepening the comprehensive cooperation between the two countries and their sociopolitical organizations in the interest of strengthening the friendship between the peoples of Yugoslavia and France, peace, international understanding, and cooperation.

The talks were attended on the Yugoslav side by Vlado Janzic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and by Dusko Popovski, SFRY ambassador to France; and on the French side, by Jean-Louis Bianco, general secretary of the Presidency of the Republic, and by other personalities. This evening, Dragoslav Markovic will host an informal dinner in honor of Francois Mitterrand.

Makes Statement to Media

LD162259 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1957 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 16 Dec (TANJUG) --"We assess the visit as a whole as very successful," said Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, in his statement at a press conference today for Yugoslav and foreign journalists, held at the Sava Center in New Belgrade.

The president of the SFRY Presidency then stressed that the exchange of views was carried out in an open and friendly atmosphere and that it embraced the most important questions of bilateral cooperation and international relations.

President Spiljak also stated that the two sides informed each other of the economic situation in their countries. France showed understanding for Yugoslavia's present financial problems and extended support for efforts to overcome them.

In his statement, French President Mitterrand said among other things:

"We have reached the second part of our visit to Yugoslavia. Tomorrow we leave for Ljubljana. The visit has enabled us to consolidate the friendly relations of our two countries. Throughout our long history we have had many common activities, we have passed through many difficulties, and we have managed to develop solidarity."

Continuing his statement, President Mitterrand also dealt with the talks held in Belgrade. He said a broad exchange of views on international problems and bilateral cooperation was held. Mitterrand particularly stressed that during his visit significant business has been carried out and in various sectors of activity special action programs have been compiled for the future. In this way, bilateral cooperation and relations will be further promoted.

Replying to a question in this connection, President Mitterrand stated he was not able to discuss everything in detail nor was the aim of his visit to sign agreements. He said that during the visit to Belgrade, his associates raised certain initiatives and continued the cooperation already begun in various spheres of life.

Expressing optimism for the future development of bilateral relations and cooperation, President Mitterrand said he expects new contracts to be signed. He said the French side is far better acquainted today with Yugoslav possibilities, both in the sphere of agriculture as well as of industry.

The two presidents also replied to questions in the sphere of international relations. President Spiljak was asked a question on the setting up of a nonnuclear zone in the Mediterranean and on the installation of nuclear missiles in Sicily.

Replying to this question, President Spiljak said there are initiatives by nonaligned countries for the denuclearization of the Mediterranean. However, the deployment of nuclear missiles in this region is not conducive to these constructive initiatives which are aimed at turning the Mediterranean into a denuclearized zone.

Asked to say something about whether the conference in Stockholm will provide fresh opportunities for negotiations following the breakdown of the U.S.-USSR talks in Geneva, President Mitterrand said: "This is a good opportunity. All the European countries and some other countries too will be gathered in Stockholm. Talks will be held there on how to overcome the problems we face. The conference will discuss security and disarmament as well as some other matters." President Mitterrand recalled in this context that at the meeting in Madrid, the nonaligned and neutral countries of Europe helped to unlock the situation in which that gathering found itself.

Replying to the question about Yugoslavs working in France, President Mitterrand said "they have been contributing for quite a considerable time already to the development of French society."

One question referred to French initiatives in the Middle East, as well as to France's involvement in Lebanon. In this connection President Mitterrand said there have been Many French initiatives and they have been accepted in Lebanon. "We have no enemies in Lebanon," Mitterrand said. "We would like a way to be found to preserve Lebanon and to implement its rights."

During the press conference, President Mitterrand also recalled his memories of meetings with President Tito. On this occasion he said, among other things:

"Tito reflected the great qualities of his people. He was a great fighter and a victor of World War II. At a meeting in Belgrade, President Tito told me about Yugoslavia's experiences -- about communists and self-managers. And what he had to say is not something one hears every day. Tito was a man of strength with which he imbued his deeds. He could not separate his private life from the public one."

During the conference journalists also asked other questions about problems on the world scene.

Disagreement on Missiles Reported

OW171853 Hong Kong AFP in English 1828 GMT 17 Dec 83

[Text] Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, Dec 17 (AFP) -- French President Francois Mitterrand left here today for Paris after a three-day official visit to Yugoslavia.

The trip was dominated by discussion of East-West issues, including disarmament and the world economic crisis.

French officials repeatedly stressed the importance they attach to their country's military independence.

But Yugoslav officials, including many members of parliament, disagreed with France's approval of the deployment in Western Europe by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization of U.S.-made intermediate-range nuclear missiles.

They also disagreed with France's refusal to allow its own nuclear forces to be counted alongside U.S. forces in the now-suspended U.S.-Soviet Euromissile talks in Geneva.

Mr Mitterrand stressed that the French nuclear deterrent was fully independent and that its use was the responsibility of the French head of state alone.

At a joint press conference, Mr Mitterrand and Yugoslav President Mika Spiljak stressed the importance to East-West relations of the Stockholm conference on disarmament in Europe, which opens January 17.

Mr Mitterrand had earlier said the conference, which grew out of the 35-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), was a "way of keeping up dialogue, of talking and advancing towards actions vital for security."

He praised the role played by neutral and non-aligned countries in the CSCE.

Business was also on the agenda during Mr Mitterrand's visit, although he stressed that he had not come to Belgrade to sign contracts.

The Yugoslav company Inex today announced it was placing an order for five Western European Airbus-320 medium-haul jetliners and taking an option on three other of the planes, in which France has a large stake.

The announcement was made to French Transport Minister Charles Fiterman, who accompanied Mr Mitterrand.

French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson and Foreign Trade and Tourism Minister Edith Cresson also took part in the visit.

Visit Concludes

LD172213 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Dec 83

[Text] French President Francois Mitterrand left our country this afternoon after a several-day official and friendly visit. At Ljubljana Brnik airport following the playing of the national anthems and inspection of the guard of honor, the French head of state took leave of his host Mika Spiljak, president of the Yugoslav Presidency, and from top-ranking leaders of Slovenia who had accompanied him on his 1-day visit to this republic, and left for home by special aircraft.

On his last day in Yugoslavia, Francois Mitterrand arrived in Nova Mesto this morning where he visited and toured the motor vehicle industry. In Ljubljana he had meetings with the top-ranking state and political leaders of Slovenia, and then left for Brdo near Kranj where Mika Spiljak, president of the Yugoslav Presidency, gave formal a lunch in his honor. During the lunch the two presidents exchanged toasts.

MOJSOV ARRIVES IN CAIRO ON OFFICIAL VISIT

LD190915 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0712 GMT 19 Dec 83

[Text] Cairo 19 Dec (TANJUG) -- Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary for foreign affairs, arrived in Cairo early this morning for a 3-day official visit to Egypt. Over the next 3 days Mojsov and his host, Kamal Hasan 'Ali, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of Egypt, will conduct a wide-ranging exchanges of opinions on the most topical international issues, especially the near east crisis, as well as on bilateral cooperation.

It is anticipated that the Yugoslav minister will be received in the course of his visit by Husni Mubarak, president of Egypt, and by Fu'ad Muhyi ad-Din, the Egyptian prime minister.

According to the program of the visit, the diplomatic chiefs will begin official talks this morning. It is envisaged that Mojsov will meet a number of Egyp ian ministers from economic departments this evening, after which Kamal Hasan 'Ali, the Egyptian diplomatic chief, will host an official dinner for his Yugoslav guest.

Gives Interview for MENA

LD190028 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1819 GMT 18 Dec 83

["Pool item"]

[Text] Belgrade, December 18 (TANJUG) -- In its efforts to prevent the division of the world into antagonistic military-political and economic blocs, the Movement of Non-alignment is daily reasserting itself as an international force which plays an important role in the present unstable balance of power in the world. It is thanks to this movement that peace in the world has been maintained and a world catastrophe avoided, in spite of the present unprecedented arms (?race).

Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Lazar Mojsov stated the above in an interview given to the Egyptian news agency MENA in connection with his official visit to Egypt opening tomorrow, Monday

The Movement of Non-alignment is growing stronger and enlarging its membership thanks to its principled and consistent efforts towards surmounting bloc divisions and its opposition to all forms of domination, hegemony, policy of force and inequality, Mojsov said.

One of the principal and lasting components of the policy of non-alignment is the view that peace, freedom, security and development are indivisible and that they are an objective need of mankind as a whole, Mojsov said.

The Yugoslav foreign secretary underlined that Egypt has always been Yugoslavia's very important partner from among the Arab and non-aligned countries, a partner with whom Yugoslavia is linked by traditional friendship and cooperation.

Mojsov said that the great leaders Tito, Al-Nasir and Nehru, as a result of their far-sightedness, perceived better than others the need for peace, equitable cooperation and free development in the world and initiated a movement which has become a broad platform of common interests on which the non-aligned have been building their relations of friendship and all-round cooperation in the past years.

I believe that my talks in Cairo will serve the purposes we have in mind, i.e. overall cooperation and exchange of views on the major issues of international relations, first and foremost, those related to the Near and Middle East, and the tasks facing the non-aligned countries and the whole international community in this respect stated Mojsov.

Mojsov stressed that the developments in the region had become a direct threat to its peace and security, as well as beyond, and that the way out of the situation was not an easy one.

Yugoslavia's view is that all the factors concerned and the (?institutions) could make additional efforts to elimina' all dangers causing further exacerbations and to establish a climate conducive t· a political solution to the problem, he said.

I do not believe that a lasting and just peace in the Middle East can be achieved without the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of return, self-determination and establishment of their own state on the national soil, said Mojsov.

As for the crisis in Lebanon, Mojsov said that Yugoslavia believed that the national reconciliation conference in Geneva, which has already produced certain results, could open up avenues for understanding among all segments of the Lebanese society on the basis of the national consensus. Of course, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon and the withdrawal of Israeli occupation forces in particular would facilitate such a development, Mojsov concluded.

KIM IL-SONG RECEIVES MARINC; RELATIONS VIEWED

AU172134 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Text] Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party and Presdient of the DPRK, has received Andrej Marinc, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and president of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia. It was assessed in the talks that the realtions between the two parties and the two socialist and nonaligned countries are very successful and friendly. Readiness was expressed for cooperation between Yugoslavia and the DPRK to be expanded in all fields.

Kim Il-song and Andrej Marinc pointed out the significance of cooperation in the Nonaligned Movement and the necessity of intensified activities of the nonaligned countries in the international field in the present very tense and aggravated situation.

POZDERAC ADDRESSES PORTUGUESE CP CONGRESS

LD172124 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1615 GMT 17 Dec 83

[Text] Lisbon, 17 Dec (TANJUG) -- Hamdija Pozderace, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, today greeted the 10th Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party on behalf of the LCY Central Committee and Presidium. Expressing pleasure at the development of good relations between the two parties and welcoming efforts made by Portuguese communists in their complex struggle to implement progressive and democratic changes in Portuguese society, Pozderac went on:

The world today and the entire international relations are in a grave crisis which is marked by the exceptionally complicated political and economic situation. The policy of bloc confrontation leads to further exacerbation of international relations, to the use of force and pressures, which represents a serious threat to world peace, security, sovereignty and independence of many countries and peoples. The struggle for class and national emancipation is faced with increased resistance from reactionary and conservative forces. The arms race is assuming increasingly dangerous dimensions and deprives mankind of significant possibilities for resolving the problems of material and cultural development.

The growing number of acute and potential crisis hotbeds in the world only further deepens the crisis in international relations. The position of developing countries is worsening and this poses a threat of new major shocks and conflicts. The existing system of international economic relations calls for immediate global reforms, which all nonaligned countries advocate. Though such reforms would be in the interest of all countries, the developed and developing ones alike, it is obvious that there is neither readiness nor political will by the richest for substantial negotiations on these issues.

All this increases the responsibility of all progressive and democratic forces and demands that they should commit themselves more intensely to the struggle for peace, disarmement, development, relaxation of international tension, and the democratization of international political and economic relations. A significant independent international factor of the struggle for these aims is the policy of nonalignment and the movement of nonaligned countries, Pozderac said. He stressed that Yugoslavia is making a full contribution to the movement of nonaligned countries as the independent nonbloc factor, whose activities are directed toward the struggle against the policy of force, imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, all forms of domination and hegemony, for equitable international cooperation based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, for peace, disarmament and general progress. Such a policy is the only alternative to the policy of bloc confronation and global division.

We believe, particularly in the present difficult situation which the world today faces, that the basic prerequisite for socialist transformation and the development of socialism is to establish genuine democratic relations among all progressive and democratic movements, based on consistent respect for the principles of independence, sovereign automony, equality, noninterference, mutual respect, free and creative exchange of views and experience, without pressures and impositions. There is an increasingly noticeable need in the world for dialogue and cooperation by forces which are fighting for peace, freedom and independence of peoples, for social progress and socialism, said Hamdija Pozderac, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the end of his speech. He wished full success for the Congress of Portuguese Communists.

ILINDEN 'VOWS' IMPLY BULGARIAN TERRITORIAL CLAIMS

AU122104 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Dec 83 p 2

[Zoran Mandzuka commentary: "Grandfathers and Grandsons"]

[Excerpts] Sofia's attitude toward Yugoslavia has not changed at all. In the Army Hall recently, as was officially said, the anniversary of the Ilinden Uprising was celebrated. Celebrated? It was said there that "the aim of the uprising was to liberate the Bulgarian people in Macedonia and the Edirne region and to unite these two regions with mother Bulgaria...."

That statement was followed by the claim -- a claim that is becoming increasingly topical and is assuming special importance for Bulgarian officials -- that "soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army carry in their hearts the vows of the uprising." And this is not all! In a firmly one-way trend toward reviving the San Stefano dream of preserving the idea of a "Greater Bulgaria" -- an idea that Sofia is no longer concealing as it lays claims to its neighbors' territories -- and, judging by all indications, convinced that the negative trends of the past can be erased, the people in Sofia stated as follows:

"The Bulgarian Army, equipped with the most modern combat technology and in an unbreakable alliance with the fraternal Warsaw Pact armies, led by the invincible Soviet Army, is ready to fulfill to the end the vows of our grandfathers...."

Illusions and Wishes

Vows? All this, and much more of the sort, was said in the Sofia Army Hall by Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army. Before the Sofia speech of the chief of the General Staff, Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, also spoke about the Ilenden Uprising.

Dzhurov said at the outset: "Goce Delcev was the most prominent advocate of the Bulgarian spirit, he was one of the most prominent fighters for the liberation of other enslaved Bulgarians...."

Grief for Something Inaccessible

A new question which can be mildly described as incomplete is: Do Sofia's almost consistent contentions, in which generals try to make virtues out of past mistakes, represent a confirmation of official Bulgarian science's inability to validate the official Bulgarian claims, namely, that the Macedonians simply do not exist?

To put it clearer: When the present generals invoke the generals of the past -- the grandfather-generals, the war generals, the generals well remembered in these parts of Yugoslavia as ruthless occupiers -- are they not in fact trying to reinforce the notion "readiness to the end" or what now Sofia calls the "vow"? Is it not peculiar to grieve over something that was not theirs and that was earlier lost in battles, as it had to be? Are not those invocations a confirmation of the frequently strong Bulgarian territorial pretensions toward Yugoslavia?

Why -- if a delemma at all exists -- is the destructive effectiveness of the present weapons being increased and even strengthened by the daily, constant indoctrination of Bulgarian soldiers with San Stefano ideals? Why is there, as is the case now, such a noticeable variance between the verbal readiness of Sofia officials to promote cooperation, peace, and understanding in the Balkans -- with neighbors -- and the frequent serious determination to undermine all this by a combination of the old dream and new weapons? The answer is obvious: The claims that Bulgaria desires cooperation are displaced by Sofia's claims to "vows" from the past.

Such an attitude merely confirms the position that good-neighborly relations must always be built and nurtured on the well-known principles and on a policy that primarily strives toward strengthening peace and development. One must not ignore any part of reality, including the Bulgarian one. Otherwise, the cooperation process will slow down, and additional complications might be introduced into the already complicated European relations. The Balkans can in fact significantly contribute to the establishment of confidence and understanding in European relations.